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Culture of Illusion: Landscape Gardens, Fabricated Ruins, and the Diorama, c. 1750 – 1850

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Culture of Illusion: Landscape Gardens, Fabricated Ruins, and the Diorama, c. 1750 – 1850

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Culture of Illusion: Landscape Gardens, Fabricated Ruins, and the Diorama, c. 1750 – 1850

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This project examines questions of fabrication and authenticity in landscape garden design and the Diorama, bridging England and continental Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, proposing that certain sites rely on illusion and the interpretative value of fabrication. As a space characterized as 'natural', the English Landscape Garden was also highly designed; a paradox that manifests in the form of the fabricated ruin. Through four case studies, this project examines a variety of uses and values of illusion in the formation of the landscape and its visual representation.

The first half of the project focuses on the design and experience of illusion in the eighteenth-century landscape garden. In England, Wimpole and Wrest Park include fabrications as participatory elements that instill the landscape with an imagined history. Illusion and theatricality are essential elements of the English landscape style as it was translated to the continent. At Schwetzingen, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century landscape attached to Elector's palace relies on illusion to frame the experience of the 'natural' in the 'English' style part of the landscape.

Representation is the focus of the second half of the project. Theatrical effects and illusion were arguably implicit in the landscape experience, forming the basis for the 'theatrical' images in Humphry Repton's Red Books. The reception of those images

further connected the landscape garden with forms of theater in the wider visual culture. By the early nineteenth century, landscape scenes featuring ruins became a common feature of the theater without actors called the Diorama. The illusion of this spectacle derived from experiential expectations established in the landscape garden, which then became a framework for viewing Daguerre's garden designs at Bry-sur-Marne in the mid-nineteenth century.

In these studies, fabricated structures in the garden generate and participate in a culture of fiction and theatrical illusion that is an integral part of the landscape experience and its representation. As fictional and experiential spaces, landscapes with fabricated ruins and their representations create a space where the roles of historical authenticity, illusion, and imagination are negotiated, throwing into question the very nature of fabrication and our relation to history.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

This study examines the role of authenticity and fabrication in the design and reception of landscape gardens and related visual media during the long eighteenth century. Initially this project began as an exploration of the experience of the fabricated ruin in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English Landscape gardens. While researching landscapes and other spectacles related to fabricated ruins, several broader themes emerged, including questions of authenticity and illusion, fragmentation, and the nature of experience in the landscape. In each of the chapters presented, there is a consistent interest in perception and aesthetics, and the ways in which the experience of illusion frames the landscape. There are several threads running through all of these works, including an emphasis on fragmentation in both experience and material, encounters with spatial illusion or fabrication, and the visitor's experience. The case studies presented here indicate a variety of responses to fabrication, from the landscape gardens at Wimpole and Wrest in England during the Georgian period to the Diorama in London and landscape garden in Bry-sur-Marne, France in the early modern era.

Due to the ambitious nature of studying these themes over such a long period, this is not an exhaustive treatise. Rather, I have chosen to investigate selected case studies that display particularly pertinent manifestations of the value and use of illusion and fabrication in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, in England and on the continent. In examining a variety of illusions related to the landscape garden and its representation, this project demonstrates that fabrication and illusion are essential aspects of the design and experience of the English landscape garden and the Diorama.

As a space characterized as 'natural', the English landscape garden in the eighteenth century was also highly designed, often including *fabriques*, also known as

follies, which manifest a paradox between symbolic and material experience. In each of these case studies, *fabriques* and illusions elicit questions about the nature of fabrication and authenticity. By examining each site in light of these issues through an interdisciplinary approach that considers design, material, and reception, this project argues for an interpretative value of the fictional quality of these *fabriques* that greatly affects the experience of the spaces in which they are used.

The question of fabrication is examined in this project through specific landscape gardens and theatrical representations of landscapes. The first two chapters discuss the role of fabrication and illusion in actual landscapes, one in England, and the other in Germany, in order to demonstrate how these questions of illusion and authenticity were translated and negotiated on the continent. Chapter one, "Fictions and *Fabriques*: Fabricating Realities in the Gardens at Wrest Park and Wimpole," is a study of two landscape gardens during the eighteenth century. Wimpole is an ideal site to begin this examination of illusion and authenticity in the landscape garden due to its relative simplicity. Though the landscape included two built garden features, the sham, or fabricated, ruin known as the Gothic Tower is the primary focus of the landscape. In many landscapes that include a fabricated ruin, the relation of that structure to other features in the landscape greatly affects its use and interpretation. Wimpole's relative simplicity allowed for an in-depth examination of the fabricated ruin as the primary element in the landscape.

Research on Wimpole Gothic Tower reveals implicit connections with another landscape garden during the eighteenth century, Wrest Park in Bedfordshire. Though often considered separately due to their apparently disparate styles, both of these gardens were owned and designed in the mid-eighteenth century by Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke (1720 – 1790) and his wife Jemima Yorke, *suo jure* Marchioness Grey (1723

– 1797). After their marriage in 1740, Philip and Jemima began work on Wrest Park. During this period, they were also often at Wimpole with Philip's father, the 1st Earl of Hardwicke. After Philip inherited Wimpole on the death of the 1st Earl of Hardwicke in 1764, he and Jemima oversaw further improvements with the assistance of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716 – 1783) through the 1770s. In addition to these landscapes, the Yorkes were also active in various literary and antiquarian pursuits. The literary works of the Yorkes and their circle are directly related to the design and experience of their estates at Wimpole and Wrest. By approaching these landscapes as interactive and fictional spaces, I argue that the garden *fabriques* within each are physical manifestations of the Yorke's interest in fiction as demonstrated in their antiquarian and literary works. Though Wimpole and Wrest are not very well known today, the Yorkes were active garden tourists in the eighteenth century, and both of their landscapes are deliberate responses to many better-known such as Hagley, Rousham, Stowe, and Richmond.

The basic elements of the English landscape garden as explored at Wimpole did not stay confined to England. As many landscape garden historians have noted, the English landscape garden style was translated and adapted on the continent, in France and Germany especially, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Chapter two, "*Pays d'Illusions*: Translating Illusion in the Schwetzingen *Schlossgarten,*" analyzes the English Landscape style, or *jardin anglais*, as it was used and experienced at the palace landscape garden at Schwetzingen. This chapter explores the role of illusion and theatricality in this large, multi-style landscape garden as it evolved in the 1760s and 1770s under the direction of the architect Nicholas de Pigage (1723 – 1796). Schwetzingen is an excellent case study for this project, as illusion is key to the visitor's experience throughout the landscape, especially in the *Perspektiv*, a trompe l'oeil painting that acts as a transition between the private 'giardino secreto' and the *jardin*

anglais portion of Schwetzingen. In addition, the Yorkes' nephew, the future 3rd Earl of Hardwicke (1757 – 1834), went on a grand tour in the late eighteenth century, and his responses to Schwetzingen make it an excellent parallel case of the role of theatricality and illusion in the landscape garden beyond England. Using a theoretical approach to examine the role of illusion in mediating between art and nature, this chapter examines how illusion frames the experience of the 'natural' in the landscape at Schwetzingen.

As a landscape garden that includes a two-dimensional illusion of landscape, Schwetzingen brings to the fore questions of representation and its role in landscape was design and experience. In the second half of the dissertation, pictorial representations and their involvement with landscape design become the main focus of the project. Chapter three, "Re-presenting the landscape: Theatrical tricks and garden imagery in Humphry Repton's Red Books," focuses on the Red Book for Wimpole, commissioned by the 3rd Earl of Hardwicke in 1801. Humphry Repton's (1752 – 1818) Red Books were manuscripts that included watercolor images with flaps that first presented the view as it was, and when removed revealed the works of potential landscape design Repton suggested to his clients. These images arguably rely on theatrical devices to represent and affect change in his clients' landscape. Repton's visual representations, like those for Wimpole, become a framework for expectations of the landscape garden. This chapter further argues that the use of and commentary on these devices by prominent figures, such as John Claudius Loudon and Sir Walter Scott, indicate and reinforce a theater-landscape connection in the wider visual culture.

Theatrical representations as explored in chapter three create a precedent that contributed to the popularity of theatrical spectacles such as Louis-Jacques Mandé Daguerre and Charles Marie Bouton's Diorama (1822). Scholars have noted the influence of landscape illusions, especially those of Louis Carrogis Carmontelle (1717 – 1806) on

Daguerre's *oeuvre*.[1] Stephen Pinson, in his 2012 text on Daguerre, gives an excellent explanation of Carmontelle's tableaux in the landscape as well as his transparencies as a precedent for Daguerre's Diorama.[2] Building on this direct connection, the last chapter examines the nature of the diorama's illusory representation.

While the first three chapters relate directly to Wimpole, this last chapter, "*Un Diorama Naturel*: The Diorama and Daguerre's garden at Bry-sur-Marne," considers the implications of the various ways of experiencing and depicting the garden as they manifest in the Diorama. Though short lived, these shows had a profound effect on how viewers interacted with spaces, including later landscape gardens. This chapter argues that the Diorama drew its popularity from frameworks of experience established in the landscape garden. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Diorama becomes a new framework for experiencing Daguerre's own, no longer extant, garden in Bry-sur-Marne.

Each of these case studies manifests particular modes of fiction, fabrications that rely on a fragmented experience and the active participation of the viewer or visitor. These particular works were chosen to demonstrate a cross-channel, and inter-material, engagement with illusion in relation to the landscape garden in order to examine how attitudes toward illusion and fabrication in the landscape and its representation manifested in the period between the mid-eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century.

In each case, the symbolic and the real, illusion and authenticity, are problematized and integrated into the design and experience of the space or object. This introduces several methodological issues, including a consideration of design as a

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[1] Carmontelle's transparencies and the jardin monceau are a natural comparison here. However, these works have already been the subject of several scholarly texts. As they manifested in Carmontelle's transparencies and the jardin monceau likely had a direct impact on Daguerre, as Pinson demonstrates. Pinson, Stephen Christopher. *Speculating Daguerre: Art and Enterprise in the Work of L.J.M. Daguerre*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.

[2] Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 57.

manifestation of cultural concerns through an individual artist or patron. This study also considers the reception of that design by a participant in that culture who also has individual or subjective experiences that alter their perception of the landscape. By examining each case through a combination of design, material, and reception, this project examines themes of fragmentation, illusion, and authenticity to explore the ways in which these objects or spaces framed the experience of fabrication.

The following gives an introduction to a variety of methods and theoretical frameworks used throughout the dissertation. These begin with a discussion of the landscape garden itself, arguing that issues of illusion and authenticity emerge in these spaces because of its unique quality, being a medium or space that is both real and symbolic. These broad themes are focused in the discussion of a particular type of landscape garden feature, the 'folly' ruin. Following a historiography and theoretical examination of the folly ruin is a more general theorization of the role of fabrication and imagination in the landscape garden during the eighteenth century. Imagination introduces the intersection of design, and subjective and cultural experience, with an exploration of how to approach the experience of these landscapes and representations. This requires consideration of the intersubjectivity and participatory quality of the landscape garden, leading to the discussion of theatricality and performance as a way to approach the experience of the landscape. The emphasis on participation and embodied viewing, movement, and ephemerality draws in questions of picturesque theory and the translation of the landscape from the experienced space to its representation. The representation and/or simulation of the landscape garden experience is summarized as an interaction with fragmentation and fabrication in a manner that indicates a shift in the understanding of authenticity and illusion.

LANDSCAPE, RUIN, FRAGMENT

Landscape gardens arguably exist in a unique state as both symbolic and real. As a physical space that enacts imaginative associations, the English landscape garden relies on a simultaneously material and symbolic experience.[3] The garden exists, it is physically there, as are the garden follies and other physical features that make up the landscape. Yet the space that they manifest relies on symbolic associations to create a narrative, an almost fictive reality.[4] In the English landscape garden especially, this is further complicated with the prevailing desire for a 'natural' space, in which each part is carefully cultivated without appearing to be so. This combination of qualities make the English landscape garden an ideal location for examining questions about the very nature of fabrication and authenticity that were being negotiated during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The sham, or folly, ruin provides a productive starting point for the discussion of the paradoxical existence of the symbolic and the real in the landscape. Folly ruins, also known as sham ruins, are structures in the landscape garden that are built to appear ruined. Though built to appear as ruinous fragments, the folly ruin has no 'real' basis in history or even any previous 'wholeness'. The Gothic Tower at Wimpole (fig. 1), constructed between 1764 and 1777, is a 'sham ruin' par excellence that anchors the north park at Wimpole in Cambridgeshire, England. Though the tower portion itself is habitable, the crumbling curtain walls, broken archways, and other miscellaneous fragments create the impression of a much larger castellated structure long-since

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[3] Rumiko Handa and James Potter, eds. *Conjuring the Real: the Role of Architecture in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Fiction*. Foreword by Iain Borden. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2011): xii. "architecture as a real thing, certainly, but the reality in which it resides is never fixed or stable; instead, it is always being brought into being by a wondrous, uncertain, and provisional act."

[4] Handa and Potter, eds. *Conjuring the Real,* 3. "buildings give an immediate presence to the historical or fictional world…The portrayal of a building's concrete and specific substance makes the world come alive, although the building itself is a mere segment of the world that it represents".

destroyed. Though the iconography of the structure relies on its apparent antiquity and fragmentation, it is actually a structure that was built to appear ruinous, and therefore whole in the execution of its design. Reliance on the fragmentary aesthetic, as well as the paradoxical emphasis on the fabricated nature of these structures underscores the complex design and experience of this landscape garden.[5]

Scholars of landscape garden history have often focused primarily on design, and therefore have near unanimously referred to folly ruins as 'sham' ruins. This term, derived from the period, implies precedence and superiority of a 'real' counterpart. In his treatise on modern gardening in England (1770), Thomas Whately's discussion of the 'sham' ruin follows a lengthy description of actual ruins in the garden, their effects and how best to employ them in the landscape. A sham ruin, he argues, is exactly the same as a 'real' ruin, but lessened in its effect.[6]

Writing in the midst of a mania for the picturesque and English landscape gardens, in Britain as well as in France and Germany, Whately's text is both a culmination of the tastes that came before and a roadmap to guide subsequent design and experience in the landscape.[7] His pronouncement that sham ruins merely create the same effect to a lesser degree as that of their 'real' counterparts has shaped scholarly

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[5] The fragmentary aesthetic has been addressed in the literature generally. Most relevant to this study is; Michel Baridon, "Ruins as a mental construct," *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 5, no. 1, (1985): 84 – 96. Inger Sigrun Brodey, *Ruined by Design: Shaping Novels and Gardens in the Culture of Sensibility* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008). Elizabeth Wanning Harries, *The Unfinished Manner: Essays on the Fragment in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1994). And, Sandro Jung, *The Fragmentary Poetic: Eighteenth-Century Uses of an Experimental Mode* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2009). It is also worthwhile to note that this corresponds with a similar aesthetic of the *non-finito* in painting.

[6] Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*. Edited by John Dixon Hunt. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982): 132. "such effects properly belong to real ruins; but they are produced in a certain degree by those which are fictitious; the impressions are not so strong, but they are exactly similar".

[7] Though it should be noted that this is only one of several views during the period, it is one that is among the most popular at the time.

understanding of these objects and the landscapes in which they are built, by placing exclusive emphasis on iconography and stylistic typologies.[8]

Assumptions derived from this iconographic focus require a closer look. According to Whately, all ruins draw the mind to the history and complete state of the structure.[9] Yet this process of completing the structure changed noticeably in the eighteenth century. During this period in England especially, a shift in emphasis occurred with regard to ruins. As Rumiko Handa summarizes in *Conjuring the Real*, early works such as Inigo Jones' (1573 – 1652) explanation of Stonehenge attempted an interpretation of the site's historical value despite its decay. Edmund Burke's (1729/30 – 1797) work on that same subject, however, indicates a shift away from such specific associations and toward an emphasis on the viewer's experience of the ruins themselves.[10] John Dixon Hunt summarized this as a wider cultural shift from precise historical details of the ruined forms to "responding simply to their impressionistic suggestions of decay and loss."[11] Nostalgia and melancholy, until fairly recently, have been the standard universal effect associated with any form of fragmentation and ruin in the landscape garden.

Ruins certainly can be melancholy, as well as elicit a sense of nostalgia. A pleasurable nostalgia can arise from considering a ruin, or a melancholy meditation on the fleeting nature of life or empires. This has been well explored in the literature, and while it is an important aspect of the ruin aesthetic, I have chosen to discuss it only

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[8] See David Watkin, *The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape and Garden Design*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1982. Watkin attempts to develop a stylistic typology, while Stephen Daniels & Denis Cosgrove's *The Iconography of Landscape* (1988) relies on iconography to the exclusion of the garden experience.

[9] Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening,* "All remains excite an enquiry into the former state of the edifice, and fix the mind in a contemplation on the use it was applied to," (131) "At the sight of a ruin, reflections on the change, the decay, and the desolation before us, naturally occur" (155)

[10] This discussion summarized in Handa and Potter, eds. *Conjuring the Real,* 9 – 11.

[11] John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture*. (Cambridge, MA, and London: The MIT Press, 1992): 181.

briefly due to its full discussion in several scholarly works. Initial interpretations by Christopher Hussey and Rose MacCauley emphasized the melancholy emotions elicited by ruined structures.[12] David Coffin's *The English Garden: Meditation and Memorial* is a more recent adaptation of this approach, which assumes that our experience of ruins participates in a kind of 'true' human experience.[13] That is, ruins as melancholy is taken as a standard assumption.

While these works argue for a primarily nostalgic, and specifically melancholic, reaction, later works, including those by Michael Charlesworth and David Stewart, indicate that a variety of impressions were possible.[14] Thomas McCormick states this explicitly, arguing that, especially in the eighteenth century, ruins could be "enjoyable, playful, inspirational, and even useful works of art. They are subject to various interpretations, few of which are gloomy."[15] The key, then, is the above-noted shift from historical specificity, to the visitor's experience of the ruin. This is further complicated by the so-called 'sham ruin.'

One of the guiding questions of this study has been whether contemporaries actually took Whately's advice. Does the experience of a garden with fabricated ruins elicit the same, only lessened, effect as their 'real' counterparts? Or does the fabrication alter the experience, and thereby the interpretation of the landscape? I am not arguing that such a conflation not possible, Whately's own work indicates that it was. However, the

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[12] Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (London: G.P. Putnam's, 1927). And Rose MacCauley, *The Pleasure of Ruins* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1953).

[13] David R. Coffin, *The English Garden: Meditation and Memorial*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[14] Michael Charlesworth, "The Ruined abbey: Picturesque and Gothic Values," in *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, landscape and aesthetics since 1770*. Edited by Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 62 – 80. And, David Stewart, "Political Ruins: Gothic Sham Ruins and the '45," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* vol. 55, no. 4 (December, 1996): 400 – 411.

[15] Thomas McCormick, *Ruins as Architecture: Architecture as Ruins* (Dublin, NH: William L. Bauhan, 1999): 20.

range of possible interpretations and experiences of the 'sham' is not indicated in this prescriptive view. According to Whately, association with a lost whole is the very foundation of a ruin's, and therefore also the sham ruin's, allure. But a sham ruin has no previous whole or history, at least in the larger sense intended by Whately. What remains are the stories it is meant to tell through its style, iconography, and emblems, but these (hi)stories are not accumulated from across the ages. A sham ruin deliberately borrows the ruined form, but in so doing negates the very essence of the ruin, which relies on physical and temporal fragmentation.

While the ruin *per se* does not dominate throughout this project, the themes developed in response to ruins, and the fragment more generally, frame the experience of each case study presented here. A key element in this experience is the relationship between the fragment and the whole. In several of his works, Stephen Bann has developed on the various possibilities of reconstructing the fragment, focusing on two key paradigms of metonymy and synechdoche. Bann notes a shift in the use of fragment, between the insistence on irrecoverable fragmentation at Newstead, to a synechdochic fragment that contains the whole at Abbotsford. This approach complicates Whately's equation of fragment to whole by indicating a variety of possible associations based on the visitor's personal or cultural context.

Though design and an understanding of the patron and/or artist is foundational to the analysis of the following case studies, they are not sufficient in and of themselves to understand the complexities of the landscape garden in the wider culture. As John Dixon Hunt argues in *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, "There is a virtual dimension to the designed landscape: despite its palpable objectivity, it needs an addressee, as it were, to receive it – a spectator, a visitor, or inhabitant, somebody to feel, to sense its existence,

and understand its qualities."[16] A landscape needs a visitor, who activates the possibilities of the space through interaction. The experience of the landscape exists in this process, between the design of the landscape and its activation and reception by the visitor. In order to reconstruct such a web of possible experiences, Hunt advises that "historians must keep in mind that essential dialogue which gardens at their best always maintain between their palpable, physical existence and the fictive worlds into whose inventions, systems, and mythological languages the garden visitor is seduced."[17] By considering design and experience, this project explores whether these programs were fully understood, or if certain elements create a loss of or alteration in meaning.

The use of the fragment affects these studies both in the interpretation of their design as well as in the ways they were received and re-appropriated in the visual culture. Many landscape garden historians have recently recognized the importance of reception and experience in understanding specific landscapes.[18] John Dixon Hunt's work emphasizes reception as a key element in understanding these landscapes. Various works by Stephen Bann and Michael Charlesworth have further proposed situating the landscape within its wider cultural milieu.[19] This project develops on the combination of

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[16] John Dixon Hunt, "Approaches (New and Old) to Garden History," *Perspectives on Garden Histories* edited by Michel Conan (Washington D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Harvard University Press, 1999): 89.

[17] Hunt, "Approaches (New and Old) to Garden History," 89.

[18] Stephen Bending, "Re-reading the Eighteenth-Century English landscape garden," in *Huntington Library Quarterly,* vol. 55, no. 3, Symposium: "An English Arcadia: Landscape and Architecture in Britain and America," (Summer, 1992): 379 – 399. Emblematic to expressive shift: "emphasis is seen as having shifted from what is there to be read to the reader's act of reading, from shared and stable interpretations to personal and therefore subjective response." (380) His thesis is that a garden is still 'read' but instead of the owner's reading, the emphasis is placed on the reading by a visitor, notably trained in 'correct' reading. Therefore, literature of the period offers a mode of reading the landscape garden, replacing the earlier reliance on inscriptions in the garden. Also, Martin Calder, ed. *Experiencing the Garden in the Eighteenth Century*, (Bern: Peter Lang, AG, International Academic Publishers, 2006), and Michel Conan, *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*. (Washington D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Harvard University Press, 2003)

[19] John Dixon Hunt, *Afterlife of Gardens* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

the visitor's experience and how that experience is shaped and eventually re-shapes the wider visual culture.

In the introduction to *Gardens and the Imagination*, Michel Conan also identifies garden imagination as a key part of a broader cultural imagination. He states that this deviates from the traditional emphasis in the literature on iconography, insisting that,

> Signs do not carry a precise meaning, as proposed by the books of emblems, but rather invite the imagination of the observer to roam a domain of possible meanings and implications defined by a network of related domains of cultural interest, not excluding books of emblems of course.[20]

Drawing on this, the method that evolved throughout this project considers design, approaching the patron and artist as enacting wider cultural concepts. This analysis is further developed by considering how the design is implemented, using media theory.[21]

Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-century Britain and France* (Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle: Cambridge University Press, 1984). Michael Charlesworth, *Landscape and Vision in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Aldershot, England, and Burlinton, VT: Ashgate, 2008). Through an approach that relies on reading the landscape, semiotics, subjectivity, and intersubjectivity, of the landscape and wider visual culture.

The idea of the garden existing within a wider 'milieu' is further explored by Michel Conan, ed. *Gardens and Imagination: Cultural History and Agency*. (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Harvard University Press, 2008). Michel Conan asserts that the garden is part of a broader social/cultural imagination is further explored in the same text by Walter G. Andrews, who in describing his ecological approach, argues that "A garden not only reflects the tastes of a certain age but it intersects with other elements of culture to create tastes, to establish meaningful interpretations of the natural world, to enforce certain attitude and relationships, and to support certain structures of power." 105.

With the exception of the Diorama, the majority of the objects studied here were created by a for a particular class. (Though even the Diorama was somewhat limited to the middle and upper classes due to the price of the shows and the site of the theater). That is, the aristocracy and a certain class that was wealth, educated and understood a certain set of histories, symbols, and associations. Therefore, connecting these objects with a wider intersection of culture requires some comment on how these representations move between classes in that culture. Though these objects were developed by a for a particular class, their proliferation in images as well as their material and conceptual development and integration into other aspects of life allow elements of the landscape garden to participate in various levels of society. Both Conan and Andrews argue that "the products of elite culture are only part of a coherent, self-perpetuating, complex, and non-linear matrix of interconnections that form the basis of a cultural imaginary in which all levels of society participate in various ways." (105).

[20] Both quotes in this above paragraph are from Conan, ed. *Gardens and Imagination,* 11.

[21] Media Theory, see: Luisa Calé, and Patrizia Di Bello, eds. *Illustrations, Optics and Objects in Nineteenth-Century Literary and Visual Cultures* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010). WJT Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1994). Erkki Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion: Media Archaeology of the Moving Panorama and*

This forms a foundation for an in-depth analysis of the visitor's experience of the space, involving both a consideration of what expectations s/he brings, as well as how that experience is mediated and re-integrated into the wider culture. In order to examine the experience of an eighteenth or nineteenth century viewer, this approach requires some theorization of relevant concepts of perception, imagination, and the use of fabrication during the period.

FABRICATION AND IMAGINATION

One of the obstacles in scholarly considerations of the folly ruin has been the dismissive attitude toward its fabricated, imagined, quality. In order to draw attention to folly ruins as objects themselves, rather than derivations of a problematic 'real' counterpart,[22] my thesis will use the terms *fabriques*, or fabricated ruins, drawing from the French terms during the period for these garden 'follies'.[23] *Fabrique* – which derives from the French *fabriquer*, meaning to construct – indicates the constructed nature of this

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Related Spectacles (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2013). See also, Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka, eds. *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications, and Implications* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011). Briefly, the theory is that the material contains part of the message. As an approach, it requires analyzing the material construction of an object, as well as a range of possible interpretations or associations attached to those materials. Huhtamo's work also discusses the ways media find their way into rhetoric and establish conceptual paradigms that shape a viewer/visitor's experience of an object.

[22] Identifying 'real' ruins was problematic even during the period. Ruins were never just left 'as found', often they were renovated, cleaned up or further covered, even partially destroyed or reconstructed to fit an ideal sense of what a 'ruin' should be. The Leptis Magna Ruins at Virginia Waters are an excellent example of an extreme form of this reconstruction. Other examples include Fountains Abbey, which Sarah Thompson points out was altered to fit a certain aesthetic. Sarah Thompson, "Recycling Ruins: The Critical Reception of John Aislabie's Work at Fountain's Abbey and the Changing Function of the Gothic," *Third Text: Critical Perspective on Contemporary Art and Culture*, vol. 25, no. 6, Ruins: Fabricating Histories of Time (November 2011): 675 – 686.

[23] *Fabrique* is most familiar as a term used in René Louis Girardin, *De La Composition des Paysages*. (Geneva: P.M. Delaguette, 1777), and Claude-Henri Watelet, *Essai sur les Jardins* (Paris, 1774. Facsimile edition reprint, Genève: Minkoff Reprint, 1972).
Hunt points out that 'folly' did not always have the dismissive tone we ascribe to it. See his etymology and elaboration on the term and the objects to which it is applied in John Dixon Hunt, *Site, Sight, Insight: Essays on Landscape Architecture*, Foreword by Peter Walker and Jane Brown Gillette, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016): 85 – 107.

category of objects and is therefore more appropriately descriptive of these objects than the dismissive terms 'folly', or 'sham'. *Fabrique* re-focuses the discussion on the process of association, of experiencing and reconstructing, of fabricating and imagining.

Contemporary models of perception offer productive ways to think about this process. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the imagination was conceived of as an active participant in the mental processes of perception and thought, as a mediator and active link between sensation and memory. According to Linda Parshall, the visitor's experience of the garden, particularly in the active processes of motion and imagination, is central to Hirschfeld's *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (1779 – 1785). Writing in the late eighteenth century, Hirschfeld's work draws on several notable English treatises on landscape gardens, including Whately.[24] The role of the imagination is crucial to the experience in Hirschfeld's treatise. Imagination, an 'artifice of the mind', is required in order to reconstruct the whole experience of the landscape, as well as to fully embrace the narratives and/or aesthetic experience within the space.

Imagination as used by Hirschfeld refers to an active process, which was understood in the eighteenth century as an essential translator between sensation and memory.[25] In *Imagination and Fancy* (1969), Brett provides a historiography of

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[24] Linda Parshall, "Motion and Emotion in C.C.L. Hirschfeld's *Theory of Art*," Michel Conan, ed. *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*. (Washington D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Harvard University Press, 2003): 45. Hirschfeld's work notes debts to Joseph Addison, William Chambers, Joseph Heely, Thomas Whately, Henry Home, and Horace Walpole. The only German intellectual he notes is Sulzer. Unacknowledged, but substantiated by Parshall, are the influences of several German theorists, such as Gotthold Ephraim Lessing.

[25] R.L. Brett, *Fancy and Imagination* (London: Methuen, 1969): 13 – 42. Historiography: According to Hobbes, Imagination "is fundamentally a form of memory, but a memory freed to some degree from the restrictions of actual experience. It can ransack the storehouse of sense images laid up in the memory and, when controlled by an artistic purpose, can associate them in new and pleasing patterns." (13). In Locke, wit is imagination, (14). In "Pleasures of the Imagination," (1712) Joseph Addison, drawing from Locke, encourages associations as much as denotations in words. In Locke & Harley, the emphasis is on sensation, memory, thought. Hobbes was opposed by the Cambridge Platonists, who insisted that the mind is active and creative rather than a passive receptacle of sensory perceptions, (16 – 17). Akenside's *Pleasures of the*

imagination leading up to and including an analysis of Coleridge's critical engagement with imagination and fancy as described in *Biographia Literaria* (1817). Brett's summary indicates that imagination was not a neutral or agreed-upon faculty even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By the early nineteenth century, Coleridge specifies this through a distinction between fancy, which is an associative process, and imagination which is creative one.[26] The productive, creative process of the imagination is an essential component that mediates between the senses and perception. Charlesworth's *Landscape and Vision* (2008) seizes on this distinction as well, indicating that for Coleridge, "the imagination synthesizes, integrates and makes new wholes in powerful creative acts."[27] In the garden space, folly ruins especially manifest this process by emphasizing the associative, imagined, and fabricated qualities of the space itself.

In a compilation of essays published by Dumbarton Oaks, Michel Conan argues that "we should be aware of the fallacy of immediate perception and acknowledge the

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Imagination is a of combination of Addison (influenced by Locke) and Shaftesbury (nature as organism, platonism, rather than machine), (26).

[26] Brett, *Fancy and Imagination*, 42. "Fancy is an associative process; the imagination is a creative one. Just as in perception the imagination imposes form and order upon the material of sensation and half creates what it perceives, so in art it works upon the raw material of experience, giving it a new form and shape. To do this it must first break down the material before it can recreate it, for the imagination is not a mirror but a creative principle. The artistic imagination creates a new world; one like the everyday world of perception, but reorganized and raised to a higher level of universality." In Brett's analysis, Coleridge's Fancy is "a mode of memory emancipated from the order of time and space", while primary imagination "mediates between sensation and perception" (involuntary), and secondary (poetic) imagination is a creative force of will that (44) "struggles to idealize and to unify" (idealize as in platonic ideal), (43). Brett likens Coleridge's fancy, primary and secondary imagination, to Kant's reproductive, productive, and aesthetic levels of imagination, (46). "The Kantian viewpoint sees art as the representation of an idea in the artist's mind, whereas the neo-Platonic sees it as the representation of reality itself." Coleridge tries to bridge these with Schelling, (48). Quoting Coleridge "'all symbols of necessity involve an apparent contradiction'. They will be contradictory because they were partly object and partly thought; individual and yet representative; both image and idea." (51). For Coleridge "a work of art is a symbol which mediates between the world of nature and the world of thought." (54). By speaking in symbol, the poet gets closest to the original thought, rather than merely translating thought into words (which are inadequate at expressing the fullness of the concept behind them), (55).

[27] Charlesworth, *Landscape and Vision in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France*, 101.

role of imagination in any response to gardens."[28] The imagination invoked here is specifically a wider cultural imagination, which frames and digests the styles, iconography, and narratives of the landscape according to several possible lenses. In the landscape garden, the cultural imagination is given material existence.[29] The imagination is further represented even in early literary works that helped shape the concept of the English landscape garden, including Addison's *Pleasures of the Imagination*.[30] Debates and treatises about the imagination are part of the fabric of the English landscape garden from its very inception.

THEATER IN THE GARDEN

Fabrication, poetry, and imagination, when combined with an emphasis on experience, introduces a performative element to the design and experience of the landscape. Scholars like John Dixon Hunt have productively explored this performative quality through theories of theatricality, in addition to poetry and other forms of literature.[31] To examine the role of theatricality in the landscape, let us briefly consider one of the earliest examples of the English landscape garden style, Rousham as it was designed and executed by William Kent in the 1730s.[32]

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[28] Conan, ed. *Gardens and Imagination*, 3. This introduction explores how imagination is culturally framed.

[29] Conan, ed. *Gardens and Imagination*, 14. "the imagination of place in which they indulge transforms the activities themselves, it enchants the garden world by endowing them with a specific frame of perception… The gardens lend a phenomenal existence to the imaginary world in which the events are assumed to take place."

[30] See Joseph Addison, "Pleasures of the Imagination," in *Select English pieces in Prose and Poetry*, Part 1, 3-48. Upsala, for John Frederic Edman, 1792. Akenside, Mark. *The Pleasure of Imagination. A Poem. In three books…* London: R. Dodsley, 1744. And, Mavis Batey, "The Pleasures of the Imagination: Joseph Addison's Influence on Early Landscape Gardens," *Garden History,* vol. 33, no. 2 (Autumn, 2005): 189 – 209.

[31] Many of Hunt's works involve some consideration of theatricality. Some of the most explicitly theatrical approaches are explored in Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque*.

[32] William Kent, 1730s. See Diana Balmori, "Architecture, Landscape, and the Intermediate Structure: Eighteenth-Century Experiments in Mediation," in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol.

The garden at Rousham begins with a lawn that extends from the main hall to the edge of a hill. Following the paths down the hill, the visitor is led through a series of groves, along winding paths that lead to various sculptures, and garden structures. One of the most well-known and noted features of this landscape, however, exists outside of the actual property; an eye-catcher that sits on a neighboring hill (fig. 2). This structure can only be viewed from specific parts of the Rousham landscape. Even more distinct, its effect relies on the movement of sunlight in order to be seen. Backed by a dense grove of trees, the eyecatcher fades into the background when in shadow (fig. 3). When the sun hits it at a particular angle, especially on a cloudy day that allows the shadows to shift rapidly over the structure, the ruin seems to appear from nowhere (fig. 4), and then fades back into the ether. The visual effects of this *fabrique* require specific visual distance, and the changeable qualities of nature, to create a theatrical backdrop to the landscape.

The theatrical qualities of the English landscape garden have drawn the attention of landscape garden scholars such as John Dixon Hunt, who considers gardens as stage designs in his compilation of essays *Gardens and the Picturesque*. Hunt argues that "The mid-eighteenth-century gardens rather took their theatrical aspect from various architectural features, closely connected (albeit in muddled fashion) with actual theaters."[33] A relatively unexplored area of activity within gardens also links them directly to theatrical activity; the popularity of performing private theatricals in estate houses and gardens.[34] For instance, the Yorkes record attending a few private theatricals in gardens such as those at Woburn Abbey, which they found particularly enchanting.[35]

50, no. 1 (March, 1991): 38 – 56. Also, Coffin, *The English Garden*. And Bending, "Re-reading the Eighteenth-Century English landscape garden".

[33] Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque*, 50.

[34] Wilhelmina Q. Ramas, "Private Theatricals of the Upper Classes in Eighteenth-Century England" (Ph.D Diss. Fordham University, 1969): 28. "Private theatricals long held a place in the nobleman's and gentleman's repertory of diversions. In some families, like those of the Dukes of Bedford and the Delavals, theatricals apparently became an honored tradition." Also discussed in Rosenfeld, Sybil. *Temples of*

As a fashion for such private performances grew, many estates drew on the talents of various people related to the professional theater world. Scene painters, architects, even writers and actors, were consulted to assist in various estates.[36] Such was the case at Shugborough, a landscape owned and developed during the eighteenth century by an extended relation of the Yorke family.[37] At Shugborough, Lord Anson employed Nicholas T. Dall, who was also a prominent scene painter at Covent Garden, to create *capricci*, fictional scenes of ruins in settings like those of Rome and its countryside (fig. 5).[38] These works decorate the walls of the main dining hall, creating a conceptual and visual dynamic between the interior of the hall and the landscape beyond. The landscape surrounding Shugborough echoes the paintings, including a number of garden follies. Closest to the hall, visible through the large windows in the West façade of the house, is a fabricated ruin (fig. 6). This ruin, and many other features in the Shugborough landscape, were features in further paintings by Dall (fig. 7). Those works also hang in the hall, across from windows that provide a view towards the ruin, reinforcing the connection between the landscape and its representation. Dall's involvement at Shugborough

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Thespis: Some Private Theatre and Theatricals in England and Wales, 1700 – 1820 (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1978), overall a relatively neglected area of both theatre and garden history.

[35] Godber, Joyce. "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park & the Travel Journal of her Husband, Philip Yorke", *The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Records Society* vol. 47, (1968): 26.

[36] Ramas, *Private Theatricals of the Upper Classes in Eighteenth-Century England*, 22. They "utilized the talents of acquaintances and friends from the worlds of professional theatre and letters. Some of them sought and secured the assistance of internationally known architects for the construction of the theatres and of equally prestigious scene and landscape painters for the production of impressive stage effects". "Various theatrical effects that were pleasing to the most elegant tastes, such as ingenious stage lighting, music by the finest orchestras, rich and characteristic costumes, and scenes that were in themselves works of art, were credited to the entertainments at several private theatres, including Richmond House, Blenheim House, Brandenburgh House, Wargrave, and Wynnstay." (24)

[37] Admiral Lord Anson married Elizabeth (née Yorke), Philip Yorke 2nd's sister. Adirmal Lord Anson's older brother, Thomas Anson, owned and oversaw the majority of these changes during the mid-eighteenth century. One of the Yorkes' earliest visits recorded in 1748. Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park," 137.

[38] John Martin Robinson, *Shugborough*. (The National Trust, 1989): 27.

provides an example of the porous boundaries between theatrical sets and illusion, and the landscape garden.

The theater and garden connection is further supported by the conceptual links between the words theater and garden. As Hunt goes on to argue, the words garden and theater "were used interchangeably to mean a collection or compendium" during the eighteenth century.[39] Hunt's approach emphasizes the conceptual presence of the theatre in developing the landscape garden, and his theatrical frameworks for experience provide a productive approach to discuss the effects of more 'natural' landscapes like Rousham. Eliciting the theatre in the garden implies that the viewer is invited to participate imaginatively and/or physically in the narrative that unfolds through the landscape. Unlike at the theater, however, those narratives are not available from a single, stationary viewpoint.

In the English landscape garden, where the principle of design relies on a partial revelation of its various features, the visitor must participate in the garden. Design in these spaces relies on a principle of movement, encouraged by the half-hidden and half-revealed quality of the space.[40] Shenstone advises those who design landscapes to apply the effect described in his poem, "A Description of – "Semi-reducta Venus," where he uses the ideal Venus as a metaphor for the landscape garden:

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[39] Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque,* 54. Further discussion of this appears on p. 60 of the same text.

[40] William Shenstone, *Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening*. Edited by John Dixon Hunt, (New York, London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982): 131. "When a building, or other object has been once viewed from its proper point, the foot should never travel to it by the same path, which the eye has travelled over before. Lose the object, and draw nigh, obliquely." He also describes its opposite as producing a horrible effect: "It is not easy to account for the fondness of former times for straight-lined avenues to their houses; straight-lined walks through their woods; and, in short, every kind of straight-line; where the foot is to travel over, what the eye has done before. This circumstance, is one objection. Another, somewhat of the same kind, is the repetition of the same object, tree after tree, for a length of way together. A third is, that this identity is purchased by the loss of that variety, which the natural country supplies every where [sic]; in a greater or less degree. To stand still and survey such avenues, may afford some slender satisfaction, through the change derived from perspective; but to move on continually and find no change of scene in the least attendant on our change of place, must give actual pain to a person of taste."

Fresh rising from the foamy tide,
She every bosom warms;
While half withdrawn she seems to hide,
And half reveals, her charms.

Learn hence, ye boastful sons of taste,
Who plan the rural shade;
Learn hence to shun the vicious waste
Of pomp, at large display'd.

Let sweet concealment's magic art
Your mazy bound invest;
And while the sight unveils a part,
Let fancy paint the rest.[41]

Shenstone's poem calls for those of taste to follow Venus' example, employing designs that half-hide and half-reveal the various elements throughout the English landscape garden. In this space, the visitor must participate because the view is always partial, fragmented. Whether that participation is in letting "fancy paint the rest" or physically moving from partial view to partial view, the visitor must involve him/herself in the garden. Reliance on fancy in the poem points to that imaginative process required by the design. In such an interaction, the visitor becomes a performer as well as part of the audience.[42] John Dixon Hunt characterizes this as enacting a *theatrum mundi*, or the world as theater. My work builds on Hunt's theory of the theatrical by considering the visitors' experiences, how they participate in these spaces, and how those experiences shape the visitor's approach to garden spaces in representation.

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[41] William Shenstone, "A Description of – "Semi-reducta Venus," *The works in Verse and Prose, of William Shenstone, Esq*. (Vol. 2. London: R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-mall, 1764): 370 – 371.

[42] Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque,* 54. "the visitor was no longer a passive spectator…The expectation of a fine garden, whatever the formal means by which the effects were achieved, was that it work upon its visitor, involving him often insidiously as a participant in its dramas". "In practice, the garden visitor is both spectator of the elements in its design and an actor in its dramas (117)

In order to attend to the visitor's experience, some conceptualization of what we mean by performer and spectator is necessary. A performer, according to Elizabeth Bell, is "one who manifests...reflexive awareness of oneself as performing."[43] A visitor in a landscape garden does this by demonstrating that they know the rules, the codes of behavior and iconographic and/or narrative cues integrated into the garden space and by reacting accordingly.[44] As evidenced in Stephen Bann's use of semiotic theory, the landscape garden can be read as a text to a certain degree, and many were in fact designed in a textual or narrative fashion.[45] By approaching the landscape in this way, I argue that the 'text' of the garden, when viewed through the lens of performance, acts as a set of cues for the performer, which in the landscape is the visitor.[46]

The visitor is also the spectator of the landscape, witnessing the narrative as it unfolds while s/he moves through the space. An audience, according to Bell, can inhabit different levels of participation between performing and receiving the performance.[47] Landscapes are spaces where these distinctions break down. With the absence of any other performer, the speaking subject, a visitor occupies both the role of audience, and the role of performer, in a state of reciprocity.[48] Taking a cue from the theatrical nature of the landscape, visitors might be posited as an intersection of audience and performer.

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[43] Elizabeth Bell, *Theories of Performance,* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2008): 43.
[44] Bell, *Theories of Performance,* 30 – 31.
[45] For example, Stephen Bann, "A Luton Arcadia: Ian Hamilton Finlay's contribution to the English neo-classical tradition," *Journal of Garden History*, v. 13, issues 1 & 2 (1993): 104 – 112.
[46] Bell, *Theories of Performance,* 73. Earlier, on page 65, she notes that when we write things down, the fleeting utterance becomes a persistent text (paraphrasing Clifford Geertz, 1988).
[47] Bell, *Theories of Performance,* 47. Notes four different levels of audience engagement, which she calls inactive receiver, active respondent, interactive co-producer, and proactive producer.
[48] Bell, *Theories of Performance,* 49. Reciprocity: Cynthia Ward's analysis of Western African concert parties indicates that the performance is interactive/proactive, "inclusive conception of audience that runs counter to Western reception theories that focus on the artistic product." Whereas "proactive producers completely blur the distinctions between audience and performers as everyone comes together in time and space to create the event." (50)

This intersection of audience and performer in the form of the visitor is key to Stephen Bann's work on Ian Hamilton Finlay's Little Sparta. Bann interprets the landscape through theories of intersubjectivity, drawing from the work of Emile Benveniste to show how the utterance in the garden takes on its own life in the form of structures and text that stand in for the presence of the speaking subject.[49] When activated by the visitor, the presence of the original subject is there, but complicated by the necessity of the visitor's physical and imaginative participation in the landscape.

While these theatrical concepts take on a complex reciprocity in the English landscape garden, the use of theatrical design and experience was not confined to England. Theatrical designs and representations of the landscape continued to manifest as the landscape garden is translated on the continent, especially in the form of the *jardin anglais*. The inclusion of an English garden, also called the *jardin* anglais, at Schwetzingen manifests this connection in its placement in the landscape near the northern wing of the palace, which housed a theater.[50] One of the fundamental aspects of Schwetzingen is the use of illusions, and particularly the staging of the landscape as an extension of a theatrical experience. The use of illusion at Schwetzingen complicates the artificial/natural dichotomy, while also tying the whole of the natural garden experience in with the theatrical. Physically, in terms of the theatre integrated into the palace there and its connection with the garden, and conceptually through the repetition of various types of illusions.

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[49] Bann, "A Luton Arcadia," 104 – 112. Emil Benveniste: énonciation (the act of uttering) vs. énoncé (the utterance): Enonciation: speaking subject assumes responsibility for the act of speaking. Enoncé: the subject is absent.

[50] The term *jardin anglais* is preferred in reference to these translated versions of the 'style,' if any such overarching/generalizing term can apply to these things. Contemporaries writings indicate that this was a category that they were using/appropriating to certain degrees, which indicates the pervasiveness of these themes of illusion and authenticity inherent in the landscape gardens of this particular era.

With the introduction of illusion at Schwetzingen, a brief note on the concept and process of illusion is necessary. "Illusion" is used broadly in this project, to denote those objects that deceive the viewer. The nature of the illusion can refer to spatial illusion, such as the apparent elongation in a two-dimensional trompe l'oeil painting as at Schwetzingen, or material illusion of the *fabrique*, which purports to be what it is not. There are also many objects throughout this study that rely on a temporal illusion, especially in creating an artificial sense of antiquity or alternate sense of time and movement. In all of these cases, the process of illusion is fundamental to the experience of these objects.

Beyond a mere imitation of an external reality, illusion requires some consideration of the process that occurs when a viewer encounters that illusion. In *Aesthetic Illusion*, Burwick and Pape note that especially in the eighteenth century, "Illusion…was always more connected with cognitive experience than just being the opposite of truth or reality."[51] That is, an illusory object presents the viewer or visitor with a medium through which to examine the process of imitation, perception, memory and imagination.

Emphasizing illusion as a conceptual process brings the discussion back to the centrality of imagination, which was posited as the key distinction between a mere copy of nature, and an enjoyable imitation or deception.[52] The pleasure in the process of illusion relies on the understanding of the deception, in that moment between taking it as 'real' and realizing the falsity, where the real and the illusory are compared and the mind

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[51] Frederick Burwick and Walter Pape, eds. *Aesthetic Illusion: Theoretical and Historical Approaches*. Berlin, New York: W. de Gruyter, 1990, 2.

[52] Burwick and Pape, eds. *Reflecting Senses: Perception and Appearance in Literature, Culture, and the Arts* (Berlin, and Boston: De Bruyter, 1995), 2. The distinction between imitation and copy depends on the imagination. Paraphrasing Coleridge, "A 'copy' merely replicates an object; an 'imitation' reveals the transforming presence of the artist's mind."

delights in that comparison.[53] To understand the whole effect, then, is to recognize the illusion and its relation to the 'real' or authentic, which requires an approach that can come to terms with the visitor's experience of fabrication.

EXPERIENCE AND RECEPTION

Schwetzingen contains a wide variety of styles and viewpoints, a kind of microcosm of the world within the landscape. Similarly large and/or varied landscapes existed in France and Germany at this time, of which Jardin Monceau, designed by Louis Carrogis Carmontelle in the late eighteenth century, is a pertinent example. Carmontelle himself described the Jardin Monceau as a series of tableaux, essentially containing a condensed picturesque tour, a series of stops and starts along a winding, seemingly natural path. This type of movement is also evident in a description of a walk to and through Ermenonville by Arsène Thiébaut de Berneaud (1777 – 1850) published in 1819. Discussed in Michel Conan's introduction to *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, Berneaud's walk from Paris to Ermenonville is characterized by a variety of memories and stops.[54] This continues even as Berneaud reaches and continues his walk in the landscape at Ermenonville. Michel Conan argues that Berneaud's description precedes Bergson's early twentieth century comment that "We think of motion as if it were made of stillness, and when we look at it, we reconstruct it with the help of moments of stillness." Conan builds on this to argue that the movement through space is

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[53] Discussion with John Dixon Hunt, Dumbarton Oaks Graduate Summer Workshop, 2017

[54] Conan, ed. *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, 2. "This remark sheds light on a paradox of picturesque travel and, in a more pressing way, on the paradoxes of contemporary tourist travels. Travels through a landscape are thought of as a series of stopovers, moments of rest focused on the contemplation and aesthetic enjoyment of landscapes in perfect stillness, and the more there is motion in the landscape - tumbling waterfalls, sailboats turning a buoy into a regatta, or skiers crashing down a slope - the more aesthetic enjoyment seems to demand that we stand still in front of the landscape. Consequently, the motion of the traveler does not seem open to aesthetic appreciation in picturesque literature." Also discussed in an essay, Martin Calder, "Promenade in Ermenonville," in *Experiencing the Garden in the Eighteenth Century,* edited by Martin Calder (Peter Lang, 2006): 109 – 144.

just as important as these stops. He argues that Bergson's comment "sheds light on a paradox of picturesque travel … the motion of the traveler does not seem open to aesthetic appreciation in picturesque literature."[55] The picturesque, experiencing the landscape as a series of images, contradicts the progressive quality, the reliance on movement, inherent in the English landscape garden particularly. Berneaud's comments follow a format typical of the nineteenth century; an aesthetic of picturesque travel that is essentially a series of views.

This is essentially the tension that pervades Humphry Repton's work. Repton's overlaid images especially rely on time and change, derived from an emphasis on progression in landscape design. Chapter three develops on the qualities of movement and viewing in the garden as Repton employs them in his landscape designs and representations. His images especially relied on theatrical devices to display the progressive qualities of the garden. As opposed to the popular picturesque theories of the day as advocated by Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight, Repton's images offer a mode of viewing that re-integrates the spatially and temporally successive qualities of the landscape. As a public debate between Price, Knight, and Repton indicates, the picturesque was not a singularly defined concept despite several claims for its universality.[56] While Price and Knight advocated landscape painting as the ideal for

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[55] Conan, ed. *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, 1 – 3.

[56] The debate took place throughout several publications c. 1794, including: Richard Payne Knight, *The Landscape, A Didactic Poem. In Three Books. Addressed to Uvedale Price, Esq.* (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1794). Uvedale Price, *A Letter to H. Repton, Esq. On the application of the practice as well as the principles of Landscape-Painting to Landscape Gardening: intended as a Supplement to the Essay on the Picturesque* (London, 1794). And, Humphry Repton, *A Letter to Uvedale Price, Esq* (London, 1794). The picturesque itself is loaded with various political and social connotations, as evidenced in several scholarly discussions. See, Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, eds. *The Politics of the Picturesque*. Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989). Stephanie Ross, "The Picturesque: An Eighteenth-century Debate," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 46, no. 2 (1987). David Marshall, "The Problem of the Picturesque," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 35, no. 3, Aesthetics and the Disciplines (Spring, 2002): 413 – 437. Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque*.

landscape design, Repton defended his work based on a distinction between the single viewpoint of the landscape painter and the progressive view afforded by moving through an actual landscape.[57]

Experiences in the landscape are made up of the physical, multi-sensory presence of the garden space, which includes design and the visitor's movement, as well as unintentional or ephemeral effects and aspects such as the time of day, the seasons, and the weather. Physical interaction with the space continually reorients the visitor as an embodied viewer; your feet hurt, you find yourself out of breath, or find a particular spot of comfort or shelter from a sudden rain shower. This turns the visitor's attention to the material of the garden itself; natural and man-made or architectural elements take on distinct qualities.

The embodied experience of the garden is further complicated with various associations and narratives, many of which are disjointed and fragmented, and require motion to experience fully. Michel Conan elaborates on a theoretical framework for understanding movement specifically, and experience more generally, in the landscape. His discussion, which outlines a useful historiography of phenomenology,[58] argues for

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[57] This is well summarized by John Dixon Hunt, "Sense and Sensibility in the Landscape Designs of Humphry Repton," *Studies in Burke and His Time,* vol. 19, no. 1 (Winter, 1978): 3 – 28.

[58] Conan, ed. *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, 2 – 12. Bergson, La pensée et le mouvant. [endnote 2 on page 2: quoting Bergson, from a passage in Matter and Memory: "But we must not confound the data of the senses, which perceive the movement, with the artifice of the mind, which recomposes it. The senses, left to themselves, present to us the real movement between two real halts as a solid and undivided whole." Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory* (New York: Zone Books, 1988): 189].
Gaston Bachelard: "'In its countless alveoli space contains compressed time. Time serves that purpose!'" [Conan cites Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space,* Forward by Stilgoe (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994): 8]. Conan's summary continues with the subjectivity of motion as discussed by Merleau Ponty. (10). Motion is experienced in relation to our engagement with the world. "to unravel the experience of motion we should first unravel the experience of the specific world from which it proceeds…This is a central question for the study of motion in gardens, because gardens offer themselves as small worlds in their own right, offering the possibility of shifting away from the topicality of the everyday world. This is also why the study of motion in gardens may help us learn something about the deeper life of consciousness that underlies perceptive activities" (11). Conan then discusses Husserl's perception and imagination, and ends with a reference to David Seamon's book on the lifeworld, "The resulting analyses as a whole can read as a

motion and experience as central to understanding the garden. In order to approach a visitor's understanding, Conan elaborates on three related approaches to garden reception, "which in turn will call our attention to the role of garden experiences in mediating cultural changes."[59] While reception studies are complicated by a relative lack of accounts, and by the arrangement of archives that privilege artists and patrons, an indirect approach can allow for some analysis.

In the landscape, a visitor participates in an interactive dialogue between subjective experience and aesthetic responses, conditioned and framed by cultural expectations.

> In brief, experience is conceived either in terms of intentionality or intersubjectivity, allowing a study of relationships between constructions of self and culture; or in terms of mediation between artistic innovation and cultural change, allowing for a study of the process of cultural change itself.[60]

The spaces in this study rely on intersubjectivity, which requires an approach reconstructing visitor experiences, as well as a theoretical framework to demonstrate how those specific details were integrated into the wider material culture. Experience, as scholars have rightly cautioned, is not a universal or singular concept. Reconstructing the experience of a garden space at a particular moment, in order to the understand the implications and assumptions of that experience, is necessarily fragmented and complex.[61] As a way forward, Conan and various authors in *Landscape and Motion*

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critical development of phenomenological approaches, opening a central discussion of intersubjectivity and of its role in the construction of individual experience." (12)

[59] Conan, ed. *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, 24.

[60] Conan, ed. *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, 25.

[61] Conan, ed. *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, 25, 27. Conan Critiques the notion of intersubjective communication as it tends to suggest that an individual thinks like any other. "The difficulties prompted by the lack of well-articulated accounts of the experience of gardens by their owners and their guests, or even by casual visitors, demand an indirect approach of some sort. And, in order to circumscribe or reconstruct the phenomena to be studied, it is necessary to adopt, at least implicitly, some definition of the notion of experience".

suggest that an individual's experience occurs within a set of identifiable narratives, negotiated between the cues in the garden, as established by the patron or artist, and how the visitor makes sense of those elements according to cultural codes. "In this perspective," Conan argues, "experiences can be shared within the same limits as meaning of sentences."[62] Experiences in the landscape are framed by an intersection of cultural contexts within which the designer or patron is working, and those in which the visitor participates.[63] To draw this back in to the theatrical model, Bann's use of the utterance relies on a distinction between the speaking subject and the utterance. The receiver of that utterance, however, is not inactive. In order to activate the space, the narrative of the garden, the visitor must act, moving from passive audience member, into a more active and productive position as spectator and performer.

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[62] Conan, ed. *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, 27 – 28. Conan describes that in Michael Charlesworth's chapter, "Movement, Intersubjectivity, and Mercantile Morality at Stourhead," "insubjectivity built up within structures of interlocution. This approach to the garden experience of motion seizes experience at the confluence of the cultural intentionality acted upon by the designer, the course of action engaged in by the garden guest, and the interworlds at his command from which he borrows a capacity to make sense of it. Thus, the garden reception can be seen either as a pedagogical phenomenon through which some historical cultural attitudes are transmitted from garden designer to guest, as a moment of self-development when the garden guest is led into self-reflection about his course through the garden, or as a process of cultural change forcing new interpretations of a cultural tradition to the be shared."

[63] Conan, ed. *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, 20 – 26. "landscape design may imbue the experience of motion with some deep meanings. Such meanings, however, turn out to be framed by the metaphysical, cultural, or ideological contexts within which designers have been working, and are accessible to visitors for whom they are part of their lifeworld taken for granted. This observation challenges the intuitive idea that moving through a designed landscape gives rise to universal experiences that can be appreciated by present-day visitors in the same way that they were appreciated by its patrons and their guests." There are three approaches identified in the text: 1) individual response: "identifies the experience of a garden with a specific way of establishing a personal relation to a garden." 2) "the experience of a garden as a cultural construct resulting from staged interactions between a subject and some real or fictional others" introduces an 'interworld,' 3) "identify the new aesthetic response that is called for by an artistic innovation, thus specifying the experience of a garden as a contribution to cultural changes concerning aesthetic judgment." Hunt shows that "landscape architecture can afford a lordship of the feet: it can direct a garden guest's will to discover." Though he also notes that the personal experience can be altered or even overridden by meditating cultural artifacts (signage, guides, commands, etc.)

THEATRICALITY AND REPRESENTATION

The performance of the landscape also translates into the modes of representation I have chosen to discuss in this project. Theatrical precedents and devices are essential to mediating and framing the performative aspect of these representations. By the late eighteenth- and early-nineteenth centuries, the connection between theater and garden became fully evident in the devices Humphry Repton devised to propose landscape improvements to his clients.[64] As mentioned above, Repton was also enmeshed in a debate during the late eighteenth concerning the nature of the picturesque in landscape garden design.

In landscape garden scholarship, the picturesque approach to garden history often includes a tendency to see picturesque design as an end in and of itself.[65] In that approach, a ruin would be included in a landscape because it is a very picturesque object, conforming with the popular aesthetic of the period, and a *fabrique* ruin would do where a 'real' ruin was not readily available.[66] But these explanations, especially in the wake of recent scholarship showing the loaded nature of the picturesque, only get us part of the way to an actual understanding of the space. Though the picturesque was a popular aesthetic, theoretically it presents several issues. As Hunt succinctly states, "A painting represents significant human action; but a garden rather provides the materials and the scenario for its visitors to complete by partaking in the actions,"[67] indicating a departure

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64 Lit. review fully explored in chapter. See Stephen Daniels, *Humpry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 1999).

65 See Marshall, "The Problem of the Picturesque,". Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque*. Copley and Garside, eds. *The Politics of the Picturesque*.

66 A return, in a more modern guise, of Whately's assertion that the folly is only worth its iconographic representation.

67 Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque,* 120.

from purely picturesque modes of viewing and interpretation. The picture is viewed from a distance and all at once, but the landscape garden must be entered and experienced.

Repton's Red Books indicate some of this interactive quality through the addition of the flap or fragmented overlaid page. The viewer enacts changes in the landscape by flipping over the fragmented overlay, indicating time and change, which a static image is incapable of doing.[68] Like the garden at Schwetzingen, these fragmented views can never offer a whole version of the experience. Once the flap is lifted, the first image vanishes to create the next simulating, to a limited degree, the fragmentary experience of the landscape garden itself. Repton's contemporaries compared his images with flaps to theatrical tricks, invoking raree shows, pantomimes, and stage effects in their comparisons.

By its emphasis on before and after images, as well as its theatrical connections, Repton's Red Book images set up a useful comparison with the theatrical spectacle known as the Diorama. The Diorama was essentially a theater without actors, where paintings were displayed in a manner that they appeared to change, alternating between two effects, creating the illusion of movement and time. Connections between garden and theatre, fabrication, illusion, and fragmentary experience, shed considerable light on Daguerre's activities during the early nineteenth century. The Diorama is often linked explicitly to Daguerre's background as a theatre set designer, but several facets of this popular spectacle have remained underdeveloped.

In his 2012 text *Speculating Daguerre*, Stephen Pinson pays particular attention to Daguerre's identity as a businessman, artist, and inventor. Pinson notes that landscapes and architectural motifs, especially ruins, were some of the most prevalent and popular

[68] A contemporary understanding. See Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: or, The limits of Poetry and Painting*, translated by William Ross. London, Ridgeway, 1836.

subjects among those chosen for display within the Diorama format.[69] A leading question in this part of the project is why these images were so prevalent and successful in the diorama. Chapter four explores this theater without actors as an extreme form of illusion that enacts a participatory response drawn from expectations and experiences formed in relation to illusions in actual landscapes. As a two-dimensional media that simulates a multi-sensory experience, the diorama acts as bookend to Wimpole, where the illusion and fabrication of the landscape are developed in the fully three-dimensional space of the garden. The reception of Daguerre's landscape garden at Bry-sur-Marne in the mid to late nineteenth century further demonstrates the pervasive presence of the landscape mode of viewing in the diorama translated back into the physical landscape.

Fabrication and artifice come full circle in the Bry-sur-Marne garden, which was described in the nineteenth century as a natural, authentic, or three-dimensional manifestation of a diorama. Descriptions of this space indicate that it included ruins or similarly fragmented features, framed as elements and effects drawn from Daguerre's experience in the diorama. This further complicates the relationship of natural and artificial, real and illusory by using, or framing, the illusion as the source for the physical design and experience of the garden.

FABRICATION AND AUTHENTICITY: MAKING HISTORIES

The inclusion of ruins or fragments in the Bry-sur-Marne garden, as well as the emphasis on illusion and authenticity, brings this discussion back to where it began: the fabricated ruin. As discussed above, the fabricated ruin implies a fictional wholeness, a reference to a (hi)story that is fictional, which calls in to question the nature of

[69] Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 78. Pinson mentions the vogue for ruins and medieval scenes, in the context of contemporaries criticizing the lack of imagination in them, but does not go in to any detail on why these scenes seemed to have appealed to make it to the status of nauseatingly popular.

authenticity in the garden.[70] While these concerns manifest in particularly urgent and intriguing ways in the landscape, they are also present in the wider culture of eighteenth-century Europe. According to Stephen Bann, "The distinguishing mark of the period between 1750 and 1850 – in England at any rate –would be not the professional practice of history but the increasingly expert production of pseudo-historical forgeries."[71] Yet, as he goes on to point out, such 'forgeries' are not antithetical to a preoccupation with authenticity. In point of fact, he argues that the desire to simulate authenticity, in effect to create a convincing forgery and the preoccupation with such illusions, are "two sides of the same coin."[72] This is echoed in *Conjuring the Real*, a volume to which Bann contributed. History and fiction, during this period, were not mutually exclusive. The imagined past became a tool to motivate and incorporate historical research and understanding.[73]

In literature, such preoccupations develop in the 'historical fiction genre', generally understood as established by Sir Walter Scott, whose presence is felt throughout chapters three and four. Scott's reactions to Humphry Repton's Red Books provide an essential link between Repton's visual devices and the wider visual culture as it manifested in interactions with the landscape garden. In France, Scott's reputation is linked with historical fiction and Scottish-French relations more generally, which become

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[70] This is essentially a metonymic process of establishing historical authenticity. Stephen Bann, "Afterword," in Bernard Lassus, *The Landscape Approach*. Introductions by Peter Jacobs and Robert B. Riley, Afterword by Stephen Bann (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998): 189. Bann argues that "The authenticity of the historical object does not reside simply in its identity with itself: as a museum piece ratified by scholarly consensus and detached from the everyday milieu. On the contrary, it becomes authentic to the extent that it communicates within a wider context: it must be made accessible to the senses, and this inevitably implies that it should take its place within a continuum of sensory impressions for which the designer assumes responsibility. This process of development can often take the form of what the rhetorical critic identifies as metonymy: a process of displacement and substitution is employed to stress the presence of the real, which cannot be evoked directly."

[71] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, 2.

[72] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, 2.

[73] Handa and Potter, eds. *Conjuring the Real,* 5.

an integral part of Daguerre's easel painting of his earlier diorama show, *Ruins in a Fog*, which was exhibited in Paris in 1825, and London in 1827. Scott's presence in these studies draws necessary parallels between these illusionistic depictions and Scott's manner of approaching history and authenticity. Historical fiction, while imagined, also seeks to offer a form of historical truth.[74] Debates over the very nature of authenticity in the eighteenth culminate in the forgery cases of the nineteenth, indicating the stakes of these concepts as they developed.[75] While forgery is not the focus of this project, Jack Lynch's work on literary fakes and forgeries is especially relevant here. According to Lynch, the study of what is fake, "confrontations with inauthenticity…bring tacitly understood conceptions of reality to the surface."[76] The use of the fabricated or illusory to frame the experience of the real is implicit in many of the studies presented here.

In certain landscapes, the distinction between fabrication and authentic history is consciously undermined.[77] The *fabrique* ruin relies on evoking authenticity, on historical association, but denies that possibility by its nature as a fabricated structure. It is a physical manifestation of the contradictions implicit in the illusion of nature that is the fundamental quality of the English landscape garden style. Yet, as Michel Baridon insists in his article "Ruins as a Mental Construct," landscape garden design, and I would argue experience as well, "is not carried out by the same means as the writing of political treatises. It is inspired by myths, not by concepts, and myths can survive contradiction."[78]

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[74] Michael Alexander, "Architecture in Historical Fiction: A Historical and Comparative Study," in *Conjuring the Real,* Handa and Potter, eds. 67. "The story is offered as something worthy of historical credit, not as a fantasy".

[75] Famous examples such as Ossian and Chatterton come to mind. While This is not a literary project, these instances indicate an evolving engagement with authenticity and the value of illusion and fabrication.

[76] Jack Lynch, *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008): 10.

[77] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, 173. Louis Mink: "If the distinction were to disappear, fiction and history would both collapse back in to myth and be indistinguishable from it as from each other".

[78] Michel Baridon, "Ruins as a mental construct," 86 – 87.

Math, as Baridon uses the term, draws from a definition by Henry Nash Smith, as "an intellectual construction that fuses concept and emotion into an image."[79] The key here is the emotion, which as has been noted by scholars mentioned here, and was a key shift in the aesthetic of the ruin, or more generally of the fragment, during the period as indicated above in the distinction between Jones' and Burkes' reactions to Stonehenge.

This indicates a more subjective experience of the landscape garden, one that invites a wide range of possibilities. As Conan argues, "gardens allow humans to dwell poetically in the world, engaging in all sorts of emotions, memories, hopes or sorrows, in different ways according to their own culture."[80] A garden is 'performed' through a complex relationship between reception, imagination, and established symbolism and narrative. The design of the garden guides the visitor, but only so far. The imagination and physical action of the visitor activates the process when s/he agrees to perform it. The ways in which the visitor interacts with the landscape, and then re-presents it, indicate the expectations s/he has derived from the wider visual and intellectual culture regarding illusion and authenticity in the landscape.

By participating in a space that relies on a half-hidden and half-revealed quality, as Shenstone prescribes, a visitor's experience of the whole of an English landscape garden is necessarily fragmented by the very act of immersing her/himself in the space. This process is implicit in the *fabriques* at Wimpole and Wrest, and explicitly indicated by the experience of various illusion at Schwetzingen. A similar experience occurs in viewing the Red Books, and in the Diorama performances., which both offer ephemeral experiences created by fragments. In each of these cases, participation requires the visitor to sacrifice the 'whole view' in favor of the fragmented, the general for the particular.

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[79] Baridon, "Ruins as a mental construct," 87.
[80] Conan, ed. *Gardens and Imagination*, 3.

Imagination then plays a key role, especially in the function of sense perception and memory, as conceived in theories of the senses and the mind during the period, to re-create the whole through the fragment. Memory, then, is also a part of this process, but the illusionary nature of the fabricated ruin resists mere informational or historical recall. The re-constitution of the whole requires the creative, productive aspect of the imagination.

Illusion and artifice are essential in this process, and can either further or hinder the embodied viewer. The studies presented here demonstrate that the illusions themselves, the fictions and artifice, register as such and participate in this process as markers of the reliance on, and limitations of, imagination in reconstructing the whole. Each of the following chapters considers a particular manifestation of illusion in relation to the landscape garden and its representation. How these forms are experienced and understood, and what those interactions tells us about the use or value of illusion and fabrication over the course of this century, is the key question that each of the following chapters addresses in various forms.

Chapter 1: Fictions and *Fabriques*: Manifesting Fictions in the Gardens at Wrest Park and Wimpole

This chapter examines the nature and use of fabrication and authenticity as they manifest in two related gardens during the eighteenth century: Wrest Park in Bedfordshire and Wimpole in Cambridgeshire.[81] Each of these landscapes includes a garden folly, or *fabrique*, that imitates a ruined antiquity. At Wrest Park, a small section of the landscape is designed around the 'Mithraic Altar,' (c. 1748) a garden *fabrique* designed as a fragmented Persian antiquity from the time of the Peloponnesian war. Wimpole's landscape is similarly defined by a ruined antiquity, in this case a 'Gothic', or medieval English castle, called the Gothic Tower (1765 – 1777). Though not often related due to their apparently distinct styles, these landscape gardens were owned, designed, cultivated and inhabited by the same family, that of Philip Yorke (1720 – 1790), eventually the 2nd Earl of Hardwicke (1764), and his wife Jemima Yorke, (suo jure) Marchioness Grey (1722 – 1797).[82] This couple's intellectual activities, as well as their political and social interests gave both gardens their shape and symbolic programs. It is in their scholarly energies and tendencies that we find the connections between the gardens, as well as evidence of their engagements with history and the nature of fabrication.

Both the Mithraic Altar, often simply called the 'Altar', and the Gothic Tower at Wimpole are fabrications that rely on the appearance of antiquity and fragmentation. While the Altar at Wrest has not been thoroughly discussed in the literature, scholarship

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[81] Portions of this chapter were published: Kasie Alt, "Fiction and Fabrications: The Gothic Folly at Wimpole, Cambridgeshire," *Garden History*, vol. 44, no. 1 (2016): 74 – 89.

[82] If we can even assign broad 'style' categories to these gardens. See Michael Charlesworth, "Sacred Landscape: Signs of Religion in the Eighteenth-Century Garden," *Journal of Garden History* 13, no.s 1 and 2 (Spring/Summer, 1993): 56. "We have been discovering for some time how damaging narratives of garden history based on notions of 'style' can be".

on the Gothic Tower at Wimpole relies primarily on an iconographic analysis that ignores the fabricated nature of the structure. In his article "Political Ruins: Gothic Sham Ruins and the '45," David Stewart argues that the Gothic Tower is inherently tied to the political ideals espoused by the 1st Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor of England from 1737 to 1756, linking the Wimpole ruin to a fashion for delighting in the ruin of gothic buildings in the wake of the Jacobite uprisings in 1745.[83] Stewart claims that the 1st Earl of Hardwicke's intentions for the ruin were to have them stand "as a threat or moral reminder to those who would rebuild the past," specifically the gothic past indicating here a generally 'medieval' period before the Magna Charta, rather than a particular period or style. His overview of the so-called sham ruin in mid-eighteenth century England argued that the Gothic Tower, and similar garden follies in various landscapes, are political, and particularly Whig, statements celebrating their victory over the Jacobites.[84]

Stewart's aim is to show the political underpinnings of the fashion for the gothic, and his point is well made. Yet his treatment of the Wimpole Tower is necessarily superficial given the scope of his argument, and he maintains the 1st Earl of Hardwicke's ideology as the central theme of the structure. The Gothic Tower becomes at once a testament to the 1st Earl of Hardwicke's politics, and a memorial to his ideals and career, being built shortly after his death.[85] Stewart never claims that the Tower is a memorial to

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[83] To avoid confusion, Philip Yorke 1st (1690 – 1764), will be referred to throughout this chapter as "1st Earl of Hardwicke". His eldest son, Philipe Yorke the 2nd (1720 – 1790) will be called Philip Yorke the 2nd.
[84] David Stewart, "Political Ruins: Gothic Sham Ruins and the '45," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55, no.4 (December, 1996): 400-11, quotation from p. 404.
[85] Stewart, "Political Ruins,". And, David Adshead, *Wimpole: Architectural Drawings and Topographical Views* (The National Trust, 2007). This point is alluded to by Stewart and developed in Adshead's article on the Building of the Wimpole folly. Interestingly, these two authors seem to disagree on the attitude of the folly with respect to the gothic past: Stewart claims this shows a delight in their destruction, while Adshead, basing his interpretation from lines written on a 1777 engraving of the folly, notes that England's former lords and barons were held up as models of resisting absolute monarchy. Adshead's interpretation relies on conflating the landscape with the engraving, rather than the experience of the landscape. The association of the ruin with melancholy and nostalgia is in a long tradition of viewing ruins merely as instances of decay in solitary garden spaces. This can be the case, but it is too reductive to apply to every

the man, and the 1st Earl of Hardwicke does indeed have a memorial elsewhere at Wimpole, a large sculpture group in the church near the Hall. The main argument of the article, however, is that the Gothic Tower is designed around the Lord Chancellor's ideals, and points out that his son builds it shortly after his death, which he claims as grounds for interpreting the Tower as a commemoration of the 1st Earl of Hardwicke's politics and principles.[86]

Certainly, the Lord Chancellor's politics, and his death in 1764, do form part of the fabric of the Gothic Tower's original conceptualization and eventual realization. Stewart's approach also forms the foundation of David Adshead's seminal work on Wimpole, in the form of an extensive catalog of archival drawings and an article detailing the development of the Gothic Tower.[87] Adshead's text provides a wealth of information on the design and execution of the Tower, but continues to rely on the 1st Earl of Hardwicke's politics for his interpretation of the landscape. Most importantly, this interpretation entirely ignores the changes made to the Tower between the 1st Earl of Hardwicke's initial designs, and the structure as it was eventually built, and downplays the role of Philip Yorke the 2nd and Jemima Marchioness Grey.[88]

Stewart's and Adshead's works do point out the symbolic possibilities of ruins as not merely melancholic or nostalgic. As discussed in the Introduction, much of garden

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case of ruin in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, particularly with regard to intentional/built ruins.

86 Which is a common thread running through most of the scholarship on Wimpole. Most scholars, Stewart and Adshead chief among them, focus on the far more public figure of the 1st Earl, the former Lord Chancellor, and leave very little room for the interests and effects of Philip Yorke the 2nd.

87 Adshead, *Wimpole,* and David Adshead, "The Design and Building of the Gothic Folly at Wimpole, Cambridgeshire," *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 140, no. 1139 (Feb. 1998): 76-84. Adshead is an independent historian, and was previously Head Curator and Architectural Historian for the National Trust in the U.K. He has written several monographs, including the one on Wimpole, the most recent of which on Hardwick Hall was published by the Yale University Press.

88 The politics of the 1st Earl of Hardwicke certainly form part of the original conception, but do they continue to inform the eventual realization? Such an assertion would result in a much narrower view of the Tower and the Wimpole landscape than the research suggests.

history scholarship concerning ruins is based on automatic assumptions of solitary meditation, nostalgia, and melancholy as the primary interpretation for fabricated ruins, as mere 'shams' of actual ruins.[89] Stewart's argument especially allows for alternative interpretations, in this case celebration of progress through the destruction of the Jacobite cause. In the case of Wimpole however, further analysis reveals a much more complex conceptual basis for the design and function of the Gothic Tower than either melancholy or celebration of destruction.

Less scholarly attention has been given to Wrest park, particularly during this period. Those works that do discuss Wrest Park tend to focus on the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, particularly the work done by Batty Langley and Thomas Archer under the patronage of Henry 1st Duke of Kent, Jemima Marchioness Grey's maternal grandfather.[90] Some attention is given to Wrest in the eighteenth century, though this is often couched within lists of works by Lancelot "Capability" Brown who was called to consult on improving the canals at Wrest park.[91] Joyce Godber has written on the Marchioness's life and letters, though those works are primarily biographical and do not elaborate on the landscape garden elements at Wrest.[92] There is a renewed scholarly interest in Wrest during its renovation in the nineteenth century when Thomas

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[89] Beginning with Hussey, *The Picturesque*, and Macaulay, *The Pleasure of Ruins*, and carried on by various scholars, including Coffin, *The English Garden*, and Christopher Woodward, *In Ruins* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2001). These present the ruin as a site for contemplating death, destruction, and the passing of bygone eras. While this is one possible facet, and certainly does occur in various cases, the interpretation of melancholy/nostalgia is also somewhat anachronistic. Hussey's own era, following closely on the heels of the first world war and melancholic ruminations on destruction and ruin being foregrounded in his work and applied to the eighteenth century.

[90] Linda Cabe Halpern has written on Wrest during this period. Linda Cabe Halpern, "The Duke of Kent's garden at Wrest Park," *Journal of Garden History* 15 (July/September 1995): 149 – 178. And Linda Cabe Halpern, "Wrest Park 1686 – 1730s: Exploring Dutch Influence," *Garden History* 30, no. 2 Dutch Influences (Winter 2002): 131 – 152.

[91] Brown, Jane. *The Omnipotent Magician: Lancelot 'Capability' Brown 1716 – 1783* (Random House UK, 2011): 119 – 120.

[92] Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park".

Philip, 2nd Earl de Grey (1781 – 1859), the Marchioness's grandson through her second daughter Mary Jemima Robinson Lady Grantham (1757 – 1830), renovated and restored the hall and gardens in the 1830s. The connection between Wrest and Wimpole is rarely mentioned except in biographical accounts of the Marchioness, and in relation to Brown's involvement with the Yorke family.

While the scholarship on the Wimpole landscape provides an excellent archival foundation for understanding the Gothic Tower, those works tend to interpret the tower without regard for its nature as a constructed folly. That it is supposed to be a 'gothic' ruin is enough to develop an interpretation. David Stewart states this outright, echoing Thomas Whately's assertion that "Shams were constructed so that the viewer would respond to them as actual ruins."[93] Therefore the iconography of the structure is foregrounded; it is gothic, and whether original or not, that gothic style becomes the primary bearer of meaning, with a secondary notice given to the ruinous aesthetic, and little more than a footnote on its status as a fabricated structure.

In many ways, this conflation is understandable. As noted in the Introduction, Thomas Whately, one of the most oft-cited sources for contemporary, eighteenth-century, thoughts on landscape garden design, notes that when it comes to sham ruins their effect is the same as a real ruin, only slightly diminished. The use of the term 'sham' continues in this tradition, denoting these objects as mere fakes of a non-specific original. Yet this assumes that everyone who built and saw these so-called sham ruins took them for the real thing, that the suspension of disbelief was so total that the thoughts raised were the

[93] Stewart, "Political Ruins," 407.

same. This chapter re-examines this assumption by exploring the fabricated character of the Gothic Tower at Wimpole as essential to its symbolic program.[94]

As this chapter will demonstrate, owners and designers certainly knew the fabricated nature of their works, and most visitors were generally not fooled either, at least not for long. Remarks praising the work indicate that the illusion is so complete that the viewer could take it for real, but the distinction always remains.[95] It is not 'real'. And yet the difficulty in discussing these objects, follies in general and fabricated ruins in specific, is that they are 'real'. They *do* exist, materially, physically, and conceptually. Though fabricated, that is fictional or not what they appear, the fabrique is an object separate from the ruin proper, with its own effects and symbolism in the garden.

Philip Yorke the 2nd and Jemima Marchioness Grey's intellectual and scholarly pursuits create a framework for understanding the use of fiction and form in the two particular garden follies examined in this chapter; the Mithraic Altar at Wrest Park and the Gothic Tower at Wimpole. The feigned character, the fabricated structure, indicate connections with literary and intellectual fictions that are no less rigorous for their being 'fake'. In the gardens at Wrest and Wimpole, fiction and *fabrique* occupy a privileged position as purveyor of meaning.

This chapter will analyze the design of each of these landscapes, with particular emphasis on the Yorkes' wider literary pursuits. Philip Yorke and his circle of family and friends, denoted the "Hardwicke Circle" by David Philip Miller, produced several literary

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[94] The term fabrication, or fabricated ruin, is used throughout in preference to sham ruin to avoid the interpretative difficulty of the term 'sham ruin,' which indicates a conflation of the ruin with its folly counterpart. 'Fabrication' is preferred both because it avoids the connotations associated with forgery or fraud, and it is a derivative of the French term used in the eighteenth century for a garden folly, *fabrique*.

[95] Bedfordshire Record Office (BRO), Lucas MSS, L/30/9/97/32, Letter from Agneta Yorke to Lady Jemima Grey, 7th September, 1774. Also noted in Adshead, "The Design and Building of the Gothic Folly at Wimpole, Cambridgeshire,".
James Plumptre. *A Journal of a Tour to the Source of the River Cam made in July 1800 by Walter Blackett Trevilyan Esq.r and the Rev.d James Plumptre*, p. 30. Cambridge University Library, Add 5819.

and historical works.[96] Yorke and several of this same circle were active members in the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries, and in the formation of the British Museum.[97] In addition to their literary and scholarly interests, the Yorkes were also avid garden tourists in the mid-eighteenth century. Wimpole and Wrest are arguably manifestations of their reactions to other sites in England, as well as indicators of their engagement with history and fabrication.[98] As such, the landscapes they develop with the help of several noted landscape gardeners and architects, reflect a cultural, as well as individual, reaction to various landscape tendencies during the period. Throughout this analysis, the design and reception of both Wrest and Wimpole as reflected in the Yorkes' letters and journals, particularly those written by Jemima Marchioness Grey, reveal an implicit dialogue with other landscapes, framed by Philip and Jemima Yorkes' own intellectual activities. The Marchioness's reactions in particular offer key insights into how concepts of authenticity and fiction were negotiated between the patron and the visitor in reaction to the Altar, as well as the Gothic Tower.

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[96] David Philip Miller, "The 'Hardwicke Circle': Whig Supremacy and Its Demise in the 18th-Century Royal Society," in *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, vol. 52, No. 1 (Jan. 1998): 73 - 91. Most prominent amongst these were Daniel Wray, and Thomas Birch.

[97] Stephanie L. Barczewski, "Yorke, Philip, second earl of Hardwicke (1720–1790)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, Jan 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/view/article/30246, accessed 18 Nov 2013. Philip Yorke the 2nd was elected as a fellow of the Royal Society in 1741, and of the Society of Antiquaries in 1744. Yorke's sister was married to Admiral Anson, whose brother, Thomas Anson, was a founding member of the Society of the Dilettanti.

[98] Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park,". Jemima and Philip Yorke were both avid garden tourists during the mid-eighteenth century. Their travels, as well as their family and social ties, extend to a wide variety of landscape gardens. A Compilation based on letters in the Lucas collection of the Bedfordshire Record Office (BRO), Journals, and Godber includes (but is not limited to) visits to the following in the years between 1744 and 1763: Woburn, Stowe, Wollaton, Wentworth Castle, Bramham, Castle Howard, Studley Royal, Rochester, Sugnall, Ingestre, Shugborough, Warwick Castle, Kenilworth Castle, Edghill, Wroxton, Norfolk, Holkham, Houghton, Oxford, Rousham, Hagley, Richmond, Chatsworth, Hardwick, Sudbury, Kedleston. The wider circle of this group included the Ansons, the Lyttletons, etc. They knew many of the key ideas/gardens/figures of the time, either by reputation/reading, or personal acquaintance, including Pope, Addison, Shenstone, Walpole, etc. Lancelot 'Capability' Brown was counted among their friends, and he assisted in the improvement of both Wrest and Wimpole.

MANIFEST FICTIONS: THE MITHRAIC ALTAR AT WREST PARK

At Wrest Park in Bedfordshire, tucked away in a dense grove of trees, in a clearing connected to the rest of the grounds only by winding paths, is a monument known as the 'Mithraic' Altar (fig. 8). Unlike most of the sculptures and architectural works throughout the landscape, there is no terminating viewpoint leading you here, no grand avenue or sequence of sculptures to guide you. It is as if the altar rises from the ground to suddenly appear in the midst of its relatively unassuming clearing. Made primarily of flint and stone, the altar appears to belong to another age (fig. 9).[99] The cornices framing each of the corners suggest foliage terminating in large claws, while the inscriptions in Greek and Persic,[100] or cuneiform, script (fig.s 10 & 11) give the structure a sense of antiquity and otherness.

Each inscription appears on a *tabula ansata*, a common motif for votive inscriptions in Classical Greek art and architecture, declaring in archaizing script "Invincible Gods, Kleandros, the Son of Hippias, from Ephesos, the Slave of the Great King, [dedicated] to Mithras. Telephanes from Phokaia, the Son of Oinades, Made [the monument.]"[101] Persic letters on the opposite side, contained in a similar *tabula ansata*, are described as "Old Persic Language copied from drawings of the Ruins of Persepolis".[102] The whole is topped by a large platform with what appears to be either sculpted references to folded cloth or indications of additional sculptural elements long since broken and worn away. According to one eighteenth-century visitor, there were at

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[99] The materials are noted by Jemima in a letter to Lady Mary Gregory, from a contemporary transcript BRO, Lucas Collection, L30/9a/2 p. 11.

[100] Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park," 45. 'Persic' is the term used by contemporaries. Cuneiform is my own description.

[101] Many thanks to Dr. Anthanasio Papalexandrou in the Department of Art History at the University of Texas at Austin for providing the translation and indicating the archaizing aspect of the idiosyncratic punctuation and the use of alternate directions for raw letters.

[102] BRO, Lucas Collection L30/9a/5 p. 86. Contemporary transcript of letter from Jemima (Marchioness Grey) to Catherine Talbot.

one point several broken pieces scattered around to complete the illusion of antiquity, though these pieces are now missing.[103]

Today, Wrest Park is most noted for the formal gardens created by the Duke of Kent during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Yet his granddaughter and heiress, Jemima Yorke (suo jure) Marchioness Grey left an equally lasting impression on the grounds. Jemima and her husband Philip Yorke, eventually the 2nd Earl of Hardwicke, inherited the estate the same year of their marriage in 1740. Shortly thereafter, they made changes to the garden and grounds, employing Lancelot "Capability" Brown in the 1750s to aid in their improvement efforts. The changes made to the gardens are noted in this map from an 1831 album of views (fig. 12). The Altar and hermitage are noted at G and I, respectively, in the lower right hand corner of the map.

In 1758, the couple invited Lancelot 'Capability' Brown to make improvements at Wrest, having most likely met him, or become familiar with his work, on a tour to Stowe in 1748.[104] Letters between the family members indicate that Brown's improvements at Wrest Park were relatively restrained, limited primarily to supervising the redesign of the canal from a formal one to a more natural, serpentine shape. On a later visit, when urged by Jemima and Philip's daughter Amabel, Brown resisted making any further changes saying anything more or less would spoil the mystery of the place.[105]

Among the various garden buildings and sculptures, the Mithraic Altar was a favorite of the Yorkes, as indicated in their personal letters. Jemima notes in a letter to Lady Mary Gregory, "It has something of a monumental look; it particularly suits with

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[103] BRO, Lucas Collection L30/9/21/1 letter from Cashiobury to Jemima Yorke, dated Oct. 4th 1748 "it is quite an uncommon thing, I admire the upper Cornish vastly with the broken pieces falling down".
[104] Jane Brown, *The Omnipotent Magician: Lancelot 'Capability' Brown 1716 – 1783*. (Random House UK, 2011): 119.
[105] Brown, *The Omnipotent Magician*, 119.

the stillness, repose and verdure all round, and it is a very favourite spot with me."[106] Stillness and repose, meditation and contemplation, were often cited as a favored alternative to the grand avenues just beyond the Altar grove.

Built sometime just before October 1748, this garden folly was well received by many of the visitors to Wrest.[107] Some were even led to believe that it was a genuine artifact. Writing to Lady Jemima in 1748, her sister-in-law Elizabeth Anson (née Yorke) remarked that the Duchess of Bedford and her party "took the altar for an antiquity".[108] In July of the same year, Jemima relates to Miss Catherine Talbot another incident of visitors to the Altar. Two gentlemen from Cambridge visited Wrest and saw the Altar just after the inscriptions were finished. After careful consideration, one of the learned gentlemen "assur'd Mr. Yorke it was itself the greatest Curiosity he had ever seen or heard of, & applied to his Companion to observe it minutely & recollect every part when they returned home."[109] The artifice was revealed shortly thereafter by the gentleman's companion, who remains unnamed in the letter, but is implied as having been part of the Yorke's circle.

Both Jemima and Philip Yorke received these stories of confusion with delight and humour. "It has given us some Diversion," writes the Marchioness, "from the different Effects it has had upon Strangers: the Generality stare and don't understand it, but some Few of greater Penetration have gone away highly edified with it as a Piece of

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106 Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park," 45. See also Contemporary Transcripts, BRO, Lucas Collection L30/9a/2, pp. 11 & 12.

107 BRO, Lucas Collection, L30/9/21/1, letter dated October 4th, 1748 from Cashiobury stating that the Altar had just been finished at that time.

108 Noted in Andrew Hann and Shelley Garland. *Wrest Park* (English Heritage, 2011): 30. See also, Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park,".

109 BRO, Lucas Collection, L30/9a/5, p. 87. A contemporary transcription of letters from Jemima Marchioness Grey.

valuable Learned Antiquity."[110] The ironic tone here suggests a double meaning. On the surface, it indicates that some can read its marks of fragmentation and the text inscriptions, and come away having learned something about its history. Given both the Marchioness and Miss Talbot's knowledge of its fabricated nature, an alternate implication is that there are those, like the learned gentleman, who take it for authentic antiquity, and those that penetrate the fabrication and understand the game and the deeper implications coded into its fabricated structure.

Outright falsity was not necessarily the goal, but the letters between members of the Yorke family indicate that they considered such confusion about the origins of their garden works as marks of distinction. In some cases the confusion is feigned, indicating an accepted code of playing along with the fiction. Others, like the Duchess of Bedford and the gentleman from Cambridge, were at least represented as having been entirely taken in by the feigned antiquity of the fabrique.[111]

Discussions about the structure indicate a similar conflation of fact and fiction. Jemima describes the inscriptions on the Altar as greek and "strange Persic characters," referring to the cuneiform-like script on one of the tablets. Her description does not elaborate on the exact translation of these texts. Instead she points out that the presence of the Persic letters make sense "for you know it is an altar raised by Cleander to Mithras".[112] Mentioning Cleander ties the altar to the purported author of the *Athenian Letters*, a collection of correspondences actually composed by Jemima's husband and his

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[110] BRO, Lucas Collection, L30/9a/2, p. 12. Contemporary transcript of letters from Jemima Marchioness Grey to Lady Mary Gregory

[111] BRO, Lucas Collection, L30/9a/5, 86. Letter from Jemima Marchioness Grey to Catherine Talbot. In praising the altar Jemima says "how greatly it baffles all arrogant Pretences [sic] to Learning with the Success it has already had in its Undertaking".

[112] BRO, Lucas Collection, L30/9a/5, 86. Contemporary transcript of letter from Jemima Marchioness Grey to Catherine Talbot. See also Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park," 45.

circle of friends and family, and offered as a translation of ancient letters from a Persian agent living in Athens.[113]

Written in collaboration with several of Philip Yorke the 2nd's family and friends, the *Athenian Letters* present themselves as a body of correspondence to and from a Persian agent living in Athens during the Peloponnesian war. The form of the letters is not new as such epistolary fictions had been published previously by others, including Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721).[114] In the *Athenian Letters*, the format creates an entertaining space to discuss and detail the lives, manners, and events of this period in Classical Greece while also likely discussing current social and political matters in a veiled manner.[115]

Despite her intimate knowledge of the fictional origins of both the Altar and the *Athenian Letters*, Jemima's language here conflates the two, using the presence of one to support the authenticity of the other. Her turn of phrase, "it *is* an altar raised by Cleander" [emphasis added] indicates authority and authenticity. The text proves the altar's origins, while the altar's physical presence supports the authenticity and antiquity of the letters. Printed privately, Philip Yorke and his circle kept the *Athenian Letters* limited to a select

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[113] *Athenian Letters, or, The Epistolary Correspondence of an Agent of the King of Persia, Residing at Athens during the Peloponnesian War. Containing The History of the Times, in Dispatches to the Ministers of State at the Persian Court. Besides Letters on various Subjects between Him and His Friends*. 4 vols. (London, 1741 – 43). According to COPAC, the *Athenian Letters* were written by the following: Philip Yorke, G. H. Rooke, Daniel Wray, William Heberden, John Lawrey, Thomas Birch, Charles Yorke, John Green, Henry Heaton, Henry Coventry, Catherine Talbot, and Samuel Salter; [http://copac.jisc.ac.uk/id/1416691?style=html&title=%5BAthenian%20Letters%3A%20or%2C%20the%20Epistolary%20Correspondence (accessed September 3rd, 2014)]. See also, Miller, "The 'Hardwicke Circle'," . It is very possible that even though the epistolary character of the letters is part of their fiction, it may have also been somewhat genuine. That is to say, since many people authored these letters it is acceptable to assume that these letters may have actually been a true correspondence, using wit and fiction to banter and exchange intellectual quips and jokes.

[114] They likely knew these letters, being able to read French and familiar with works from the period.

[115] Discussions of certain characters that closely match contemporary political figures, as well as lengthy discussions of good kingship, etc. all offer tantalizing possibilities too tangential to fully develop here.

few for several years.[116] This indicates that deceiving the public was not their aim in this literary work. Rather it was an intellectual exercise amongst a select few, of a certain class and with a thorough grounding in classical languages, and its deceptive character was part of the inherent intellectual wit.

The fiction of the Altar's origins was less apparent to some visitors, though it has its own marks of fabrication. The altar's placement in a landscape garden in Bedfordshire belie at least the pretense of the piece being original to the space, given its apparent Greek and Persian origins. Jemima also notes that the size will quickly indicate to the 'Learned' that it could not be genuine, unless as belonging to that of a "Larger Race of Men in that Age of the World, or at least the Priests who were to sacrifice upon it."[117] The top on which priests were to sacrifice stands above head height, with the inscriptions at approximately five feet from the ground, around eye level.

Connecting the *Athenian Letters* and those involved even more intimately to the Altar, Philip Yorke wrote to his friend and mentor Thomas Birch playfully informing him, "it is determined, you are to be the Priest of the Mithraic Altar, [and] must reside at least one day in the year at the Hermitage of Truth."[118] The Hermitage of Truth referred to the 'roothouse,' a hermit's dwelling conceptually connected to the Altar, as the residence of the 'priest', and placed within the same grove.

Birch, to whom the 1st Earl of Hardwicke had presented a Vicarage in 1732, was intimately connected to the Hardwicke family and their circle. Having tutored one of the Yorke children, most likely the young Philip Yorke, Birch maintained a close friendship

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[116] *Athenian Letters*, London: T. Cadell, 1798 edition. "Advertisement," vii – ix.
[117] BRO Lucas Collection, L30/9a/5, 87. Jemima Marchioness Grey also notes that inquiries into where it comes from or how it got there would also reveal it as a fabrication.
[118] British Library Add MS 35397 f. 233 Philip Yorke the 2nd to Thomas Birch, dated Nov. 2, 1749 from Wrest Park.

with his pupil. In 1741 Philip Yorke the 2nd commissioned Birch to keep him apprised of London news and particulars related to their shared interests.[119] Their ample correspondence reveals a close friendship and mutual respect, and their scholarly activities reflect a similar level of cooperation. The young Philip Yorke was intimately involved in the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries, and the establishment of the British Museum. Birch was equally involved in all of these groups, often even more so than Yorke as he was more constantly and consistently in residence in London.[120]

Birch had assisted Yorke in the *Athenian Letters*, and Yorke relied heavily on him for all matters, whether political, social, or scholarly. Connected as it is to the stories of Cleander, it only makes sense that the Altar and Hermitage should also, at least in pretense, house someone who was so pivotal in the creation of that work. The priest's residence, the so-called 'Hermitage of Truth' is recorded in their letters as having been built under the direction of Mr. Thomas Edwards with assistance from Mr. Daniel Wray.[121] Edwards, a good friend of the Yorkes, was a poet and a literary critic, well-known at the time for his translations and original sonnets.[122] According to Jemima Yorke, though there is little other mention of his talents as a gardener, Edwards also had

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119 Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (DNB): "Thomas Birch", accessed 3/10/15. See also, Miller, "The 'Hardwicke Circle'," 76.

120 David Philip Miller, "The 'Hardwicke Circle'," 73 - 91.

121 BRO, Lucas Collection L30/9a/5, 132. Jemima's letters also indicate that Lord Lyttelton (not specified, probably Sir George Lyttelton (1709 – 1773)), was also present and involved at least in the planning stages of the Hermitage and probably the Altar as well, which is significant given the Lyttelton's later involvement with the Gothic Tower at Wimpole, as discussed later in the chapter.

122 John A. Dussinger, 'Edwards, Thomas (*d*. 1757)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, January, 2008. Edwards was a writer and critic. His paternal estate was Pitshanger, Middlesex. A fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, 1745, contributor to the *Athenian Letters*, He is mainly known for his sonnets, which were promoted by Daniel Wray. One of his better-known works is *A Supplement,* which was a critique of William Warburton's edition of Shakespeare. [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/view/article/8558, accessed 12 March 2015] Letters in the British Library, Add MS 35605, indicate that Edwards was a part of the Yorke circle, contributing to the Athenian Letters and other endeavors, from at least 1745. First hints of the "Persian Altar" at Wrest, f. v. 302. Dated Turrick, Oct. 13, 1747.

"great fame in the world as a wooden Inigo."[123] This reference to Inigo Jones, celebrated architect of the early eighteenth century in England, is offered in support of Edwards' abilities, though little has been recorded in the way of his architectural training or other related works.[124] The qualifier in 'wooden Inigo' likely refers to the Hermitages' material construction as a wooden structure.

Figure 13 depicts the Altar and Roothouse in the grove which the priest of the Altar would inhabit. In the image, two learned gentlemen marvel at the Altar in the foreground. Between them and the trees to the left, a small cottage appears in the distance. This is likely the hermitage, given its placement in the grove with the Altar. Though Birch was to be the priest at least one day a year, Mr. Edwards occupied a similarly integral role in descriptions of the garden. Jemima notes that he often "sat under an old oak with a table before him covered with plans and compasses, 'he had greatly the appearance of a magician casting figures and attended by his familiar'," conjuring the hermitage out of the ether.[125]

Though no longer extant, descriptions place the hermitage in the same grove as the Altar, and note that is was "very rustic and suitably [sic] to the ancient Persic Simplicity"[126] referring to the so-called 'Persic' atmosphere created by the Altar itself. This atmosphere recalls again the descriptions of Persia in the *Athenian Letters*.

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[123] BRO, Lucas Collection, L30/9a/5, 132. Letter from Jemima Marchioness Grey to Catherine Talbot.

[124] Given the Marchioness' penchant for speaking in double meanings, the possibility of her ascribing this structure to Edwards may be a rhetorical device intended to conflate it with his poetic abilities/productions. However, the prevalence of the gentleman architect, the amateur, etc. make it possible that this noted poet also dabbled in other arts.

[125] Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park," 46.

[126] BRO, Lucas Collection L30/9a/5, 132. Letter from Jemima Marchioness Grey to Catherine Talbot. This 'Persic Simplicity' is better spelled out in the *Athenian Letters*, to which Jemima is probably referring. For instance, in one letter from Cleander to Gobryas, he writes "O may these punishments of the Gods, which never come undeserved, helps us throw off our luxurious and dissolute manners, and resume the masculine virtues and simplicity of the old Persians; since so extensive an inheritance, as the empire they transmitted to us, can never be preserved, but by the same arts that raised it." *Athenian Letters,* Vol. 1. Letter VIII p. 24.

Cleander's letters often reveal a longing for his home country of Persia, at least as he remembered or imagined it before its downfall due to luxury and excess. In the *Athenian Letters*, Cleander and his correspondents often write of a longing for an older, and more noble simplicity most often associated with, and located physically in recollections of, the religious retreat at Bactria. Described as a country retreat kept by the adherents and priests of the Persian religion(s) as they were described in the text, Bactria becomes invested with the most dearly held principles of Ancient Persia, and even the best of Athens.[127] It is described as a country landscape, complete with groves and beautiful prospects, where nature has been elevated to perfection through improvement by art. Those close to the Yorke family often called Wrest the 'Temple of Vacuna', the temple of victory, and described it in many of the same terms as Bactria in the *Athenian Letters*.[128] That Jemima finds 'Persian simplicity' here around the altar indicates perhaps some victory in having regained those best qualities of both Greece and Persia, recalled in the dual inscriptions on the Altar.

Given the fictional foundations of the *Athenian Letters* and the Altar, calling the roothouse a 'Hermitage of Truth' seems rather tongue-in-cheek. Yet a hermitage as a site of truth, or a place where one, usually a hermit, can discover truths, also draws from a

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[127] *Athenian Letters*, vol. 1 letter XVII, Smerdis to Cleander, p. 58 – 59. Smerdis writing to Cleander, the Magi "inhabit those groves, which have been the mansions of the wise and virtuous…The very air of this country is perfumed and of a power draught; the sky more serene and of a brighter azure; the prospects beautiful and various, since nature is not only favourable to us, but has received all the improvement by art. Immense wealth has been bestowed on her cultivation, yet the richness of her dress seems to rise from the genius of the place." Signed 'H' from "Balch in Bactria"
Cleander responds in Letter XX to Smerdis, pp. 75 – 79. "How transported do I call to mind the hours, when I was permitted to mingle among the learned crownd, and lay at your feet, while you presided in the schools of the Magi! But O! how inexpressible is the remembrance of some few happy times, when with you I wandered in those blissful paths, which heavenly contemplation seems before all others to have chosen for her peculiar abodes." (77)

[128] Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park," 45. Used in letters between the group. For example: Lady Margaret Yorke (Philip's sister) writes to Jemima in 1747 including verses about Wrest where she calls the place Vacuna. BL Add MS 4325, f. 202.

common notion during the period connecting hermits, as venerable sages, to sites of contemplation in the garden.[129] Connected to the Mithraic Altar, this hermitage becomes a home for the priest of the Mithraic cult, fusing hermit and priest, Persian Mithraic cult and deist associations prevalent in the English landscape garden. Members of the Yorke family were, by all accounts, adherents to the Church of England. In a letter to Birch, Yorke distinguishes himself and Birch from the Deists, but has some sympathies with them in general.[130]

In his article "Sacred Landscape: Signs of religion in the eighteenth-century garden", Michael Charlesworth argues that hermitages were generally indicative, first, of "Deist thought, and second, of loyalty to the Hanoverian royal dynasty," barring any overt indications to the contrary.[131] In the case at Wrest, calling on Birch as the priest of the altar, himself a noted scholar but also a clergyman of the Church of England, reinforces the sacralization of the space, as both scholarly and religious, but avoids openly deist associations by placing Birch in the defining role as priest of the Altar.

According to the second reading offered by Charlesworth, a hermitage can also function as an expression of loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty, a political point well-established in the steadfastly Whig Yorke family. At Wrest, the inclusion of a hermitage and the description of an attendant figure as a priest or magician forcefully recalls Queen Caroline's hermitage in Richmond, making an express link between Wrest and the Hanoverians.[132]

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[129] Charlesworth, "Sacred Landscape," 57.

[130] British Library Add MS 35397 f. 167. Writing to Birch in 1748, Philip Yorke comments on the soon to be published work of a mutual friend, "I fancy it will create a great controversy whenever it comes out, & that both We moderate Church men & the Deists will think the argument of it runs in our respective favor." 'Moderate church men' distinguishes them from high Anglican Tory.

[131] Charlesworth, "Sacred Landscape," 57.

[132] Queen Caroline's garden at Richmond included a hermitage, built in 1732, with expressly deist associations. Charlesworth, "Sacred Landscape," 57. See also, Judith Colton, "Merlin's Cave and Queen

It is somewhat ironic that a building built to 'Truth' should be so intimately connected with a garden folly, one whose basis in a sort of fiction was well known by all in the Hardwicke circle. And yet, in many ways it makes a great deal of sense in the greater context of Philip Yorke's works and those of his circle, as the notion that truth can be found in fiction prevails throughout the works produced by this group.

FRAUDS AND FABRIQUES: JEUX D'ESPRIT

As Lord Chancellor, the 1st Earl of Hardwicke, and many of his political and social circle it seems, expected his eldest son and namesake to readily take to politics. Yet Philip Yorke the 2nd's primary occupations were his antiquarian studies and his writing.[133] Philip Yorke's own life and literary works included several examples of 'fiction', or fabrications to distinguish them from the later-established and more strictly defined literary category. Early in his life Yorke wrote and contributed to several 'jeux d'esprit,' including the epistolary work of fiction the *Athenian Letters*.

In 1738, a young Philip Yorke collected and edited a volume of 'letters' written by friends and family in imitation of the highly influential *Spectator* papers. He titled this collection *The Philosopher*, from the pseudonym or character he assumed as editor of, and contributor to, the volume. It appears that the manuscript, currently at the Beinecke Library at Yale University, was never published, and was probably never intended for such a public audience. Rather, like the later *Athenian Letters,* it was an intellectual exercise for Yorke and his circle. In his preface to the collection Yorke begins with a

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Caroline: Garden Art as Political Propaganda," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* vol. 10, no. 1 (Autumn, 1976): 1 – 20.

133 Philip Yorke the 2nd was involved in politics to a limited extent, serving as MP for Cambridgeshire 1747 – 1764, but his main interests were scholarly, and the majority of his efforts were placed in the Royal Society, Society of Antiquaries, and his literary works. See Miller, "The 'Hardwicke Circle'," and Barczewski, "Yorke, Philip, second earl of Hardwicke (1720–1790),".

defense of the project. His first appeal, however, is not that the *content* is necessary, rather the reader's attention is first drawn to the format of the papers:

> Amongst the various methods that have yet been practised to divert or instruct mankind, there is no one w[hich] has met with better Success, than Essays published under a feigned Character.[134]

He develops on this theme, noting that variety and entertainment allow for more pleasurable, and therefore more readily accepted and understood, instruction.

The 'feigned' character of the papers themselves is multi-layered. Each writer is recorded under a pseudonym, and the works themselves sometimes take on fictional or theatrical guises. For instance, some letters pretend to answer previously 'published' works, while others are written addressed to a fictional editor. Even the collection itself is a kind of fiction, written without any intention for publication, yet the introduction and many of the works pretend to address a larger audience as if in preparation for submission to a published journal such as the *Spectator*, *Guardian*, or *Tatler*.

Presentation and format, the very fabric of the papers, are based on a well-intentioned deception, one that might instruct and lead to higher truths.[135] The distinction made here indicates a nuanced understanding of authenticity, fiction, and falsification. Particularly by the later eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, falsity and forgery were severely censored and prosecuted.[136] Fictions and feigned characters, however, maintain their value.

Yorke continued to generate such works under a feigned character for the majority of his life. In addition to the *Athenian Letters*, Yorke and his close friend and

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[134] [Philip Yorke, ed.], *The Philosopher* (1738 – 41). Manuscript at the Yale University Beinecke Library, Osborn Collection, c368, p. 1.

[135] Yorke, ed. *The Philosopher,* 3 – 5.

[136] See Jack Lynch, *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Also, Julia Abramson, *Learning from Lying: Paradoxes of the Literary Mystification* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005). And Ian Haywood, *Faking It: Art and the Politics of Forgery* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987).

mentor Thomas Birch are also credited with creating the *English Mercurie*.[137] Ostensibly an early English newspaper relating the events of Queen Elizabeth I's military engagement with the Spanish Armada in 1588, the *English Mercurie* was noted by Chalmers in 1794 as the earliest English newspaper in existence.[138]

On further inspection by Thomas Watts, an employee at the British Museum, the paper was denounced as a forgery.[139] Writing in 1839, Watts reported that the work was clearly not printed in the given date of 1588, as the paper and typeface were unequivocally dateable to the mid-eighteenth century. In addition, the papers were found with the manuscript versions of the text. These had been explained as transcriptions, but according to Watts they contained the kind of changes and edits that one would find in a writer's manuscript, not a transcription. That is, the changes in the manuscript indicated revisions, reworded sections, alterations to titles and headings, and other annotations. On the identity of the forger, Watts writes,

> This question must be left to time and the curious. The papers came into the Museum in 1766, the year of the decease of Dr. Birch, to whose collection they belong…It cannot for a moment be supposed that Dr. Birch was accessory to the deception; his character wholly forbids it, and the circumstance that the 'bane and antidote,' the printed part and the manuscript are both found to have been placed together, seems to shew [sic] that he took reasonable care that others should not be deceived.[140]

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[137] British Library, Add. MS 4106, ff. 29 – 42. *The English Mercurie,* printed and manuscript versions.

[138] George Chalmers, F.R.S, S.A., *The life of Thomas Ruddiman, A. M. the keeper, for almost Fifty Years, of the library belonging to the Faculty of Advocates, at Edinburgh: To which are subjoined new anecdotes of Buchanan*. (London, 1796).

[139] Thomas Watts, "A Letter to Antionio Panizzi Esq. Keeper of the printed books in the British Museum, on the reputed Earliest Printed Newspaper, "The English Mercurie, 1588"' (London: William Pickering, 1839); British Library General Reference 818.K.43

[140] Watts, "A Letter to Antonio Panizzi Esq.," 14.

Watts' own biases about the character of Dr. Birch entirely forbid any involvement of the venerable scholar in the creation of the work.[141] Presumably, from the situation he proposes, Dr. Birch found the forgery and, though he never published or made any mention of his discovery, squirreled it away with the 'antidote' of the manuscript proving the paper's false origins.

Later, in 1850, Watts writes again having discovered a probable identification of the fiendish forger with the help of another employee of the British Museum. At least, fiendish in his last report. This report of 1850 is considerably less censorious as Watts now identifies the culprit as none other than Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke, and that Birch was his accomplice![142] According to Mr. Cates, a Reading Room attendant at the British Museum, the handwriting of the body of the manuscript matches that of Philip Yorke the 2nd, and the hand that wrote the revisions and annotations matches Dr. Birch's.[143] Furthermore, the first appearance of the *English Mercurie* in any collection is found in a Catalogue of Manuscripts in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke at Wimpole.[144]

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[141] Lynch, *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 31 – 52. This is characteristic of the period, where discussions of forgeries and judgements on a person's actions were inextricably tied up with the qualities of the person and his/her 'character'. Such an accusation would also create further difficulties given Birch's role in helping to establish the British Museum.

[142] Thomas Watts, "Authorship of the Fabricated 'Earliest English Newspaper'," *The Gentleman's Magazine*, (May, 1850) British Library General Reference C.194 b.227. This would have been particularly touchy given Philip Yorke's involvement with the British Museum during its inception and the large donations of material given to them on his death.

[143] Having seen these myself, I find the connection well supported. Yet there is very little else connecting the English Mercurie to Philip Yorke 2nd. Other evidence includes; the connection with Thomas Birch, whose collection these are a part of, the presence of these 'newspapers' listed in the catalog for the Wimpole library, and as I have shown, and Watt's also mentions, Yorke's use of similar themes/genres of literature.

[144] *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Possession of the Earl of Hardwicke*, (1794). British Library General Reference, 620.h.17. Also noted in Watts, "Authorship of the Fabricated 'Earliest English Newspaper'".

Since these venerable men certainly could not have intended any kind of serious forgery, Watts determines that this must be a game, a literary *jeu d'esprit*. In this case, playing with fictional and feigned characters as a foundation for discussing actual historical events. He goes on to note that this would align with Philip Yorke's character, as the known primary author of the *Athenian Letters*, the fictional nature of which was more obvious to readers as part of the epistolary fiction genre. The *English Mercurie* "seems never to have been brought forward by its authors with a view of deceiving the public," Watts notes in their defense, thereby exonerating them of any wrong doing.[145]

Watt's change in attitude may seem wholly incongruous, but at the time the discovery of forgeries and frauds was as much based on the still-pervasive use of character judgements as it was on textual analysis.[146] The title for the 1850 report signals the more generous tone, calling it the "*Fabricated* Earliest English Newspaper" [emphasis added], distinguishing the attitudes toward forgeries and fabrications. Though the term 'fabricated' certainly enjoyed a wider connotation, there is a connection here with the French term for a garden folly, *fabrique*. The distinction between Watts' reports, the first denouncing a forgery and the second declaring it a fabrication, notes the distinction made between these various kinds of fictions.

The succession of 'discoveries' regarding the *English Mercurie* is indicative of an evolution in the approach to history and authenticity. As Stephen Bann notes in *The Clothing of Clio* (1984) "The distinguishing mark of the period between 1750 and 1850 - in England at any rate - would be not the professional practice of history but the

[145] Watts, "Authorship of the Fabricated 'Earliest English Newspaper'," 3.
[146] Lynch, *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 28.

increasingly expert production of pseudo-historical forgeries."[147] Yet these, as discussed in the Introductory chapter, are not at odds with concerns about history and authenticity. As Bann notes, the drive to simulate authenticity, and the preoccupation with history, are two sides of the same concept. Chalmers takes the *English Mercurie* at face value, indicating a disconnect in reading the codes of fiction and discerning its import. Later, Watts' confusion about the origins of the piece indicates a discernible shift in attitudes toward the value of the fabrication in regards to creating, or re-creating historical authenticity. Watts' reactions to the English Mercurie marks a shift in historical mindedness, in what constitutes the making of history, and the value of fabrication in that process.

Philip Yorke and his circle were engaged in creating fabrications of various kinds, usually historical in theme. Given Thomas Birch's involvement with the *Athenian Letters* and the *English Mercurie*, Yorke's call for him to inhabit the Mithraic Altar at Wrest and his involvement with the family in London and Wimpole, implicitly link all of these scholarly friends, and their literary activities, with the gardens at Wrest and, later, at Wimpole.

FABRICATING WIMPOLE: THE DESIGN OF THE GOTHIC FOLLY

While continuing to improve the gardens at Wrest Park,[148] Philip and Jemima Yorke spent much of the decades following their marriage touring various parks and

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147 Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, 2. "The distinguishing mark of the period between 1750 and 1850 - in England at any rate - would be not the professional practice of history but the increasingly expert production of pseudo-historical forgeries."

148 Jemima Yorke was granted a Remainder to inherit the Marchioness Grey title through her maternal grandfather, Henry Grey, (1671 - 1740) Duke of Kent (Maternal Grandfather). This made her Marchioness Grey, and allowed her heirs to inherit the title of Baron(ess) Lucas, as well as all of the Duke of Kent's estates upon his death.

gardens throughout England. They went on several tours between 1744 and 1763.[149] Prolific writers both, there are several detailed accounts in their letters and journals of the places they saw. They often visited the seats of extended family, such as Shugborough, owned by Elizabeth (née Yorke) Anson's brother law.[150] Later trips included stops to Chatsworth, various estates owned by the Walpole family, as well as Rousham, and the estate of family friend Sir George Lyttleton at Hagley.[151] Their tastes in garden style were diverse, but their social circle and political views held sway over most of their choices of which gardens to see and which to leave out. Philip Yorke's journals and letters describe architectural details, the parks and grounds, and display a knowledge of and fascination with the various art collections housed at each estate. The Marchioness Grey's interests tended toward the gardens, with a definite preference for accommodation and comfort.[152]

One might wonder that they had any time at all with all of these tours, as during this same period they also visited family at Wimpole, or Wimple as it was often written, spent time in London, and continued improvements at Wrest Park. Philip and Jemima often visited Wimpole in Cambridgeshire, though the seat of their family was technically Wrest Park until Philip inherited Wimpole as the 2nd Earl of Hardwicke in 1764. They moved in a somewhat predictable pattern, spending the winter in London and/or Richmond, Spring and Summer at Wrest, and convening in September or October at with

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[149] Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park," 41 – 44. The early tours include Woburn, Stowe, Wollaton, Wentworth Castle, Castle Howard, and Studley Royal, Kenilworth Castle and Edgehill to name just the most prominent examples.
[150] Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park," 20, 43, 137. Midland Tour 1763, and two separate accounts (Marchioness Grey and Philip Yorke respectively) of a previous tour in 1748.
[151] Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park," 14. Midland Tour, 1763.
[152] Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park," 135 – 140. Journey into Staffordshire, 1748.

the Lord Chancellor and the rest of the family at Wimpole for they termed the 'Wimpole congress.'[153]

During this period Yorke's father, the 1st Earl of Hardwicke, was making improvements to the Cambridgeshire estate.[154] The then-Baron Hardwicke purchased the Wimpole estate from the Earl of Oxford in 1738, and then quickly set about improving the hall and the grounds. The gardens and parks had been laid out in a formal style in the seventeenth century, as evident in a print by Johannes Kip (1653 – 1722) from 1707 (fig. 14). In 1721, Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, employed Charles Bridgeman (1690 – 1738) to clear and soften some of the more formal elements as is evident in his design for the South Avenue and Parade c. 1721 (fig. 15).[155] Bridgeman's designs maintained the major south to north axis of the previous gardens, in keeping with the layout of the Hall and major roads. Oxford also employed James Gibbs (1682 – 1754) to design several garden pavilions, though little evidence remains of which designs, if any, were carried out.

Shortly after purchasing the estate in 1738, Hardwicke employed Henry Flitcroft (1697 – 1769) to oversee the extensive work done on the house.[156] He also hired Robert Greening, who was responsible for altering the formal gardens to a less strictly confined park. Flitcroft's talents were primarily employed in redesigning the Hall façade and the Wimpole church, though he also appears to have aided Greening's improvements in the

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[153] Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park," 25. Also various letters and journals, (See BRO Lucas Collection, and Hardwicke Papers at the British Library) detail this family routine. This pattern of movement (ritual/habit) is oft neglected in consideration of gardens. They are not just firmly set in the country, as much as their patrons saw them as a rural retreat they were part of this ritualized movement between town and country.

[154] Created 1st Earl Hardwicke in 1754.

[155] Adshead, *Wimpole*, 17. Harley inherited the estate by marrying Henrietta Cavendish Holles (1694 - 1755) daughter of John Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle (of the second creation) (1622 - 1711).

[156] Adshead, *Wimpole*, 38. The first payments were made to Flitcroft in 1742; Adshead attributed the elevation drawing to Flitcroft (48).

landscape.[157] Greening's alterations cleared many of the earlier geometrically designed elements in the parks to the south and north of the Hall (fig. 16). Like Bridgeman, he left the emphasis on the south to north axis with an avenue of trees and straight vistas framing the main approach from the south to the Hall, and continuing that line in the North park up to what became known as Johnsons hill.[158]

In 1747 William Stukeley visited Wimpole, drawing rough sketches of the south gardens and north park, which are well illustrated in Adshead catalog.[159] In Stukeley's depiction of the south gardens, the landscape is dominated by the approach that creates a south to north axis. That axis continues through the house on both levels through a large foyer on the ground floor and an atrium on the second. This allowed clear lines of sight through both south and north parks from within the manor hall. The main apartments on the second level look out over the north park, where the axis continued from the south terminates in a modest hill, which appears to be bare in Stukeley's other drawing from the same visit. Bridgeman's designs and Greening's later alterations both emphasized this hill as the focus of the north park well before Hardwicke's arrival, and it probably seemed an obvious spot for an eye-catcher. Stukeley's topographical drawing in particular highlights the need for something terminating the grand view. The trees, avenue, and even the formal garden itself, leads the eye incessantly back toward the hill and a blank gap in the page framed by the trees.

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157 Adshead, *Wimpole,* 5.

158 The hill is now commonly referred to as Johnson's hill. While I have found the Yorkes, especially Jemima and Philip, refer to it as such, there is no indication of when this appellation began or why. If they started it, there are considerable interpretive possibilities in the reference to Johnson as an allusion to any number of figures from the time.

159 Images published in Adshead, *Wimpole*, 51. Originals are at the Bodleian Library, MS Top. Gen d14 f. 48 recto, and f. 47 verso.

The north park is dominated by that hill, and it appears that a garden building of some sort was in Hardwicke's plans for this site even from this stage. Flitcroft created a design for a Gothic eye-catcher, likely for this purpose, dated to around 1749.[160] Flitcroft's design (fig. 17) is distinctly an object in the garden to be viewed from a particular point. Designed more or less as a curtain wall, this would have been an object to view from the Hall, with little to no attention paid to the back or to functionality as a structure. Flitcroft's plan show a mostly in-tact, ecclesiastical gothic wall with gothic windows and tracery. Indications of flora or vegetation at the top slightly erode the upper portions of the wall, but it stands as a relatively *whole* design. That is, the piece of the fictive castle or church is designed as a fairly self-contained structure. The single-layer, symmetrical structure emphasizes a flat, façade-like design with the 'ruined' aspect depicted, somewhat half-heartedly, at the very top.

In 1749, the year after Philip and Jemima Yorke finished the Mithraic Altar at Wrest, Sir George Lyttelton wrote to Sanderson Miller on the Lord Chancellor's behalf requesting designs for an 'Old Castle' for Wimpole. According to the letter, the Lord Chancellor had asked for the plans of the castle recently built at Hagley in the interest of building one like it at Wimpole. Lyttleton wrote to Miller noting that,

> Upon further enquiry I found it would be better for him not to copy mine, but have one upon something like the same idea, but differeing [sic] in many respects, particularly in this, that he wants no House or even room in it, but mearly [sic] the Walls and Semblance of an Old Castle to make an object from his House.[161]

Like Flitcroft's design, this initial request foregrounded the object in the distance, or eye-catcher, as the Lord Chancellor's priority. Two weeks later Lyttleton sent further information and materials to aid Miller's preliminary drawings, reiterating,

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[160] Adshead, *Wimpole,* 48. Notes that flitcroft's drawing may have been an early draft of the gothic Eyecatcher, and this conclusion is well founded in the archives.
[161] Warwickshire Records Office (WRO), CR 125B/328.

> As the Back View will be immediately closed by the Wood there is no Regard to be had for it…As my Lord designs it meerly [sic] for an Object he would have no Staircase nor Leads in any of the Towers, but meerly [sic] the Walls so built as to have the appearance of a Ruined Castle.[162]

These descriptions sound more like the Flitcroft design than Miller's work at Hagley. According to the published volume of Sanderson Miller's diaries, the sketch he produced based on Lyttleton's description is the pencil and wash sketch in the National Trust's Bambridge collection at Wimpole (fig. 18). This work displays a main tower rising up out of the crumbling ruins. Two side towers connect to the main one by fragmentary curtain walls, with indications of arches and doorways beyond the main tower and walls. The editor of the published edition of Sanderson Miller's diaries noted that the perspective drawing may have been completed before Miller's meeting with Hardwicke and drawn more on Hagley than the other sketches completed for the design.[163]

At Hagley, Miller's Gothic castle also sits on a hill, but is barely visible from the hall itself. The site on which it is situated creates an ideal point from which to take in the prospect, as indicated in this photograph of the view from near the base of the tower (fig. 19). As such the tower was designed with several rooms and a viewing platform so that Lyttleton and his guests could enjoy the view from that point.[164] As this photograph indicates (fig. 20), the main tower includes a protected interior, connected by gradually more ruinous curtain walls to the ruined side tower which also had a room, indicated in

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[162] WRO, CR 125B/349

[163] See William Hawkes, ed., *The Diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway, together with his memoir of James Menteath* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Dugdale Society in association with the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2005), p. 175, n. 22.

[164] Soon after it was built it was inhabited, by various groundskeepers, etc. Many thanks to Viscount Lord Cobham and the Head Gardener at Hagley, Joe Hawkins for inviting me to Hagley during renovations in 2015, and for discussing the particulars of the site. As Hawkins was, at the time of my visit, preparing his doctoral thesis on Hagley that promises to discuss many of these points, I have limited my discussion of Hagley to its relation with Wimpole.

the photo by the windows. The ruinous parts are integrated with the enclosed portions to create both an object in the garden, and a place from which to view the prospect.

Miller's ink and wash perspective drawing of the Gothic Tower comes closer to the reality of the structure as it was eventually built, but his line drawings in particular emphasize Hardwicke's intention that the tower remain a relatively simple eye-catcher. Unlike the interactive character of the Hagley ruin, Hardwicke wanted a shell for his ruin at Wimpole, an object in the distance. These sketches by Miller focus more on the single-layer, crumbling curtain walls connecting equally ruinous towers (fig.s 21, 22, & 23). The drawings display a sketchy quality indicative of having been done perhaps on the spot, or in Hardwicke's presence. Each focuses on the curtain wall aspects of the Tower, and once again emphasize a relatively single-layered structure, designed only as an eye-catcher from the house.

By keeping the Gothic Tower in the distance, it becomes a ruin to be celebrated, the main theme in Stewart's article.[165] Stewart argued that Hardwicke's desire for a ruined gothic tower as a celebration of Whig victory over the Jacobites, a political sentiment that relies on a specific historical association. That association requires framing the viewpoint, the visitor's experience, by maintaining a certain distance.[166] The past, in the form of the ruin, is kept in view as a reminder, but its distance allows the viewer to celebrate the destruction of the past.

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[165] Stewart, "Political Ruins," 400 – 11.

[166] Stewart, "Political Ruins," 404. See Also, Charlesworth, "Sacred Landscape," 62. Charlesworth argued with regard to Shenstone's ruined priory that the ruin is kept at a 'safe' distance, both physically and imaginatively. Elaborating on this and using Rievaulx Terrace as a further example, he argues that, 'By establishing the vantage points, and by framing the views … landscape gardens could refine their visitors' reactions to these wrecked sacred buildings, and help to ensure that they were regarded (i.e., understood, as well as seen) in a pejorative manner'.

From Miller's diaries and letters, as well as Yorke family letters, it is clear that both Yorke and the Marchioness were often present during Miller's visits to Wimpole.[167] During his first visit in September 1750, Miller wrote in his diary that the "Eldest Mr Yorke and his Lady" were there when he arrived.[168] After the Lord Chancellor showed him the house, he rode out with the Lord Chancellor and the Mr Yorkes, Philip and his brother, to the 'clump' where they surveyed the ground for the Castle.[169] The 'clump' is not specified in Miller's diary, but given the attention paid to the hill in the North park, it is most certainly that spot the entry references. The conversation between the Yorkes and Miller is not transcribed, but I cannot imagine Philip Yorke was silent during the exchange. Yorke's own scholarly pursuits and interests in antiquarianism and literature, as well as his extensive experience with gardens throughout England and the ongoing improvements at Wrest Park, would certainly have left their mark on the very beginnings of the Gothic Tower.

BUILDING THE GOTHIC TOWER

Despite Hardwicke's initial enthusiasm for the plan, as indicated in his letters to Lyttelton and Miller, the Tower remained merely an idea until after his death in 1764. Once Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke, inherited the Wimpole estate and title from his

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167 Hawkes, *The Diaries of Sanderson Miller*, 173.

168 Warwickshire Records Office letters, between Hardwicke and Miller. See William Hawkes, ed., *The Diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway, together with his memoir of James Menteath* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Dugdale Society in association with the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2005): 175, n. 22; "September 12, 1750. Eldest Mr Yorke, his lady and two youngest at Wimpole. Lord Chancellor showed me the lower part of the house. Rode out after breakfast with Lord Chancellor, Mr Yorkes to the clump. Surveyed ground for the Castle, and rode in the park, three hours". On two separate occasions the 1st Earl of Hardwicke invited Miller to Wimpole, both times attempting to schedule the visit to coincide with Philip and Jemima's visits which nearly always occurred at least in September for the 'Wimpole congress' as those in the family termed it.

169 Hawkes, *The Diaries of Sanderson Miller*, 173. The information is paraphrased as the diary entries were made in Miller's own shorthand and lengthened by the editors of this published volume. I have therefore chosen to paraphrase rather than quote ton indicate room for error in the exact translation of Miller's shorthand.

father, he began 'improving' the landscape garden, calling once again on the talents of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, who had assisted the improvements at Wrest Park. In the midst of this redesign, Yorke also revived the plans for the Gothic Tower. As Miller was unable to complete the project himself for health reasons, the task fell to Brown and the Cambridge architect James Essex.[170] In a letter to Birch in 1765, Yorke wrote of his plans for Wimpole, "I project some Improvements wth [sic] the assistance of Mr Brown" which were carried out in bits and pieces between 1765 and 1775, when the Tower was finally finished.[171]

Like Jemima Marchioness Grey's description of Thomas Edwards at Wrest, Brown's work has also often been presented in ethereal or otherworldly terms. Writing from Wimpole in 1769 to her lifelong friend Catherine Talbot, the Marchioness remarked "'we tread Enchanted Ground'… Mr. Brown has been leading me such a Fairy Circle & his Magic Wand has raised such landscapes to the Eye – not visionary for they were all there but his Touch has brought them out with the same Effect as a Painter's Pencil upon Canvass [sic]".[172] Jemima's comments on the work done by Brown echoes her response to Thomas Edwards designing the hermitage at Wrest over two decades earlier. Like Edwards, these landscape fantasies manifest in the garden with the same near-magical skill.

Brown's visionary touches in the fabric of the landscape included further eliminating those geometric elements remaining from earlier periods. The south park was smoothed out and considerable expansions and changes were made to the north park, as indicated in an anonymous survey that provides views before and after 1767 (fig. 24).

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[170] Adshead. *Wimpole*, 47.
[171] British Library Add MS 35400 f. 332 – 333. Letter from Philip Yorke 2nd to Thomas Birch, 1765.
[172] BRO, Lucas Collection L9a/9 f. 125. Letter from Jemima Marchioness Grey to Catherine Talbot, 1769.

During Brown's improvements, the two existing ponds were connected and their edges smoothed into a more 'natural,' serpentine lake or river. Fed by a small stream, Brown created the appearance of a river flowing from west to east bisecting the north park. He concealed each end at the boundary line of trees so that the origins of the river, a humble creek, would not disturb the illusion. The design included a carriage drive and a tree belt, coalescing the previous parts into a distinct whole while also allowing multiple views of the Hall, the hill and the Tower by including carriage drives and walks around and through the park.

Though the Gothic Tower is the only extant garden structure, another was designed and executed by James 'Athenian' Stuart during the same period. The Prospect House, as it was named, appears in some descriptions from visitors and family letters, as well as on surveys of the property from the late eighteenth-century until the early nineteenth century.[173] Unfortunately the structure no longer survives, though a print from 1778 shows how the Prospect House may have appeared in the grounds at Wimpole (Fig. 25). According to James Plumptre, who made a tour there in 1800, the building was further down the hill from than shown in the print, adding to drainage problems that eventually weakened the structure.[174] However, most accounts indicate that the print is fairly accurate in its depiction of the original building.[175] Plumptre also noted that the place was already in bad repair by the time of his visit, not even thirty years after it was built. He notes that the house had several cracks and faults due primarily to its position

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[173] Adshead, *Wimpole,* 48.

[174] James Plumptre. *A Journal of a Tour to the Source of the River Cam*.

[175] Humphry Repton *Red Book for Wimpole*, (1802). National Trust Archives, Wimpole, Bambridge Collection. WIM.D.586. Repton's work for Wimpole in 1802 used this print and cites it as an accurate view. Repton also notes the problems with the structure. See Chapter 3 in this dissertation for further details.

on the hill which caught the wind.[176] Jemima and Amabel occasionally wrote of the Prospect House, noting that there was little interest in visiting or using it.[177] By the early nineteenth century, it had vanished entirely.[178]

The Gothic Tower, however, remains today. As it was constructed, the Tower bears a striking resemblance to Miller's ink and wash drawing. So much of what has been written about the Tower to this point has looked at the structure through the 1st Earl's vision, as an object from the Hall.[179] But in its construction as overseen by the son, Philip Yorke the 2nd, the design was considerably altered, becoming an experiential site, as well as an object in the garden.

As mentioned above, the Yorke's gardening activities at Wrest and tours of English landscapes and estates occur at the same time as the 1st Earl of Hardwicke's own improvements at Wimpole. They frequently visited Wimpole in addition to their travels around England, and were present from the very beginning of the design period for the Tower and it is their efforts that realize its construction the end. Yet the literature has largely marginalized their role in creating Wimpole in general, and the Tower in particular. Recent works that discuss the Gothic Tower have begun to note the discrepancies between the original designs and the extant structure.[180] The following

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176 Plumptre, *A Journal of a Tour to the Source of the River Cam*, 27 – 29.

177 BRO, Lucas Collection L30/9/60/94. Letter dated April 4th 1777, "Ld Polworth can talk of nothing but the little Room…I rather thought myself that Stuart's Designs were better design'ed than executed,…though it must be confess'd that a Groupe of three Partridges took our Gentlemen's Fancy more than any of the Grecian Nymphs and Muses that accompany them."

178 Repton, *Red Book for Wimpole*. Repton notes the bad repair and gives some advice for fixing it, but as it disappears from the records thereafter it is likely that the cost of the repairs outweighed the advantage, and it was torn down. Discussed further in Chapter 3.

179 See Adshead, *Wimpole*. Stewart, "Political Ruins,".

180 Brown, *The Omnipotent Magician*, notes this briefly. Adshead, *Wimpole,* also remarks on the differences, though his analysis downplays them as inherent in the gap in time and medium, between the drawings and the actual construction.

seeks to understand why these changes were made, and how they affect the experience of the Tower in the landscape.

THE TOWER IN THE LANDSCAPE

As a visitor walks through the north park, the Gothic Tower appears here and there through the trees (see fig. 1). It draws the visitor from the Hall, over the ha-ha, and to the lakes that bisect the North Park. Across the lakes over the Chinese bridge brings you to the foot of Johnson's Hill. From there, the full devastation of the crumbling Tower becomes clear (fig. 26). The brick structure has a clunch ashlar façade to give the appearance of gothic-period masonry, an effect that is heightened by the inclusion of actual pieces of antique masonry in the structure.[181] The crumbling fragments of the walls indicate the passage of time and hint at the possibility of mentally reconstructing the whole from the pieces. The curtain walls and the main gate to the west are mostly intact at the base but broken and crumbling at the top. These walls and archways connect the main tower to two partially destroyed side towers. To the east, according to a contemporary print, a large archway may have dominated a series of smaller doorways and arches leading into the center of the Gothic Tower complex (fig. 27).

In the midst of the 'ruins', to the north of the main tower, two doors become visible at the base (fig. 28). The lower door is to the 'basement' while the upper door is accessed by a staircase and leads to the main floor.[182] The National Trust recently restored this outer staircase based on an early nineteenth-century lithograph after a drawing by Richard Bankes Harraden (1778-1862) (fig. 29).

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[181] Adam Menuge and Anwen Cooper, *The Gothic Folly: Wimpole Park, Wimpole, Cambridgeshire*, Report for English Heritage (2001): 12.

[182] Richard Bankes Harraden (1778-1862); Monochrome copy in the Cambridgeshire Collection, Cambridgeshire Libraries (Y.Wim.J192); tinted copy in the possession of David Adshead. See, Menuge and Cooper, *The Gothic Folly*, p. 17, n. 27.

Though no longer extant, a faux-Latin inscription and a niche containing a fourteenth-century mitred bust once crowned the door to the first floor. A sale catalog of 1891 indicates that the bust was an actual fourteenth-century sculpture. The faux-latin inscription included with the bust read "STRIKEIVS ABBA. CROYLANDIE AD 946 FVNDATOR ACADEMIARVM CANTABRIGIE ET STANDFORDIE."[183] The very presence of this inscription and bust inside the ruined complex, above the tower door, suggests that at least a few visitors were expected to explore and find these details.

According to an English Heritage report by Adam Menuge and Anwen Cooper published in 2001, the main tower originally included a ground floor room with a fireplace, and a prospect room reached by an open staircase. Account books from as early as 1789 note that the windows were glazed.[184] Other sources indicate that Lancelot 'Capability' Brown further altered Miller's original plans for the building slightly in order to make it a more complete, and watertight, structure.[185] All of these changes indicate a preoccupation with protecting the interior, further pointing to use of the tower, perhaps as a space to hold meals or gatherings, and as a point from which to gaze out over the prospect.[186] These alterations change the very nature of the structure, from merely an eye-catcher, a place to be seen, into a spot from which to see. The gaze is no longer in one direction, from the main Hall to the eye-catcher. It is now a two-way

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[183] Adshead, *Wimpole*, 17. Quoting the faux-latin 'STRIKEIUS ABBA. CROYLANDIE AD FVNDATOR ACADEMIARVM CANTABRIGIE ET STANDFORDIE' and translating it as 'Strikeius Abbot of Croyland, AD 946, founder of the University of Cambridge and Stamford' - presumably intended as a blow in the long-running and acrimonious battle to establish the seniority of Cambridge University over the rival claims of Oxford. Adshead, *Wimpole*, 48. Adshead claims that the inscription is still present, though barely legible, while the bust is gone. He also notes that in his 1964 dissertation, Hawkes transcribes the inscription with 'STIRKEIVS', rather than 'STRIKEIVS'.

[184] Menuge and Cooper, *The Gothic Folly*, 9, 15 – 22.

[185] Brown, *The Omnipotent Magician*, 277 – 278.

[186] The National Trust, which owns and maintains the Wimpole Estate, has recently completed an impressive renovation of the folly in an attempt to restore some of these details.

conversation, from the Hall to the Tower, or from the Tower to the Hall and the countryside beyond.

RUINED GOTHIC: THE GOTHIC TOWER IN CONTEXT

In the National Trust guidebook to Wimpole, David Souden argues that "Brown had Miller's original sketch design for the ruin adapted for greater historical accuracy, probably by the Cambridge architect James Essex."[187] While the archives indicate Essex's involvement, there is little evidence of the nature of his work at Wimpole.[188] The claim that the alterations in the design were for 'greater historical accuracy' may be true given Essex's work in gothic architecture and interest in historical models. While a singular focus on iconography would be reductive, the choice of a gothic style tower, designed as a ruined structure, is equally essential to the interpretation of the Gothic Tower in the Wimpole landscape.

The 'Gothic' form of the structure does not necessarily point to a particular period as eighteenth-century definitions of Gothic were rather broad. A print (fig. 30) created before 1777 does give some clue as to the intended historical reference as it includes verses first published in the *Annual Register of History, Politics and Literature for 1775*.[189] The print includes those verses below an image of the southern façade of the Gothic Tower from within the north park. Though printed anonymously, Philip Yorke the 2nd's letters indicate that he had a large part in choosing the verses that appear below. Letters between Yorke, Daniel Wray, and another member of their group Richard Owen Cambridge, detail Yorke's decision.[190] In his catalog on Wimpole, David Adshead has

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[187] David Souden, *Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire* (London: National Trust, 1991): 28.
[188] Adshead, *Wimpole,* 47.
[189] Adshead. *Wimpole*, 50.
[190] See Hardwicke Correspondence, British Library, Add MS 35611.

also attributed these lines to Daniel Wray, who was a member of the Royal Society and the 2nd Earl's close friend.[191] The lines from the print read:

> When Henry stemmed Iernes stormy Flood,
> And bow'd to Britains yoke her savage brood;
> When by true courage and false zeal impell'd
> Richard encamp'd on Salems palmy field
> On Towers like these Earl, Baron, Vavasor,
> Hung high their Banners, floating in the air.
>
> Free, hardy, proud, they brav'd their feudal Lord
> And try'd their rights by ordeal of the Sword,
> Now full board with Christmas plenty crown'd
> Now ravag'd and oppress'd the country round.
> Yet Freedoms cause once rais'd the civil broil,
> And Magna Charta clos'd the glorious toil.
>
> Spruce modern Villas different Scenes afford;
> The Patriot Baronet, the courtier Lord,
> Gently amus'd, now waste the Summers day
> In Book-room, Print-room, or in Ferme Ornée
> While Wit, Champain, and Pines and Poetry,
> Virtu and Ice the genial Feast supply.
>
> But hence the Poor are cherish'd, artists fed,
> And Vanity relieves in Bountys stead
> Oh might our age in happy concert join
> The manly Virtues of the Norman Lines,
> With the true Science and just Taste which raise
> High in each useful Art these Modern Days.[192]

The verses initially draw the reader into historic associations. A reference to the Magna Charta links the verses and the Gothic Tower specifically with eighteenth-century Whig

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[191] Adshead. *Wimpole*, 50.

[192] These lines have been transcribed from Adshead, *Wimpole,* 50, with one exception: spaces have been added to indicate verse breaks as noted in the actual print. These verses were also published in the second edition of the *Annual Register*. "Inscription in a Tower at W-, in the County of Cambridge," *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics and Literature for the Year 1775,* second edition (London: J. Dodsley, 1777): 196. In the *Annual Register* version, the first two verses are printed as together.

politics. The celebration of this moment continues in further lines celebrating the courage and independence of the barons because of its result in the Magna Charta. In the second half of the poem, the emphasis shifts from historical associations to more specifically artistic concerns. Villas and *fermes ornées*, book and print rooms, poetry and wit all abound in the third verse. By the last verse, these objects of art join with 'the Manly Virtues of the Norman Lines' in the form of the Gothic Tower itself. As a ruin in the castellated gothic style, the Tower on Johnson's hill is firmly situated in this gothic past, referenced here as 'Norman'. Yet the seeds of the modern taste, virtues, arts, freedoms and ideals, lie in those histories. Descended from the 'Norman Lines', these qualities are firmly rooted in the past to flower in the present.[193]

A series of personal letters indicate that the 2nd Earl chose Wray's poem over lines written by Richard Owen Cambridge, whose version was a more specific evocation of a historical moment. In a letter containing the verse, Cambridge notes that he was drawing from Horace Walpole's verses on Ampthill as inspiration for verses written on the Wimpole ruin:

> Within these Tow'rs Oh! May there ne're be seen
> A Lustful Monarch or an Injur'd Queen.
> These Tow'rs which Genius consecrates to Taste
> Haunts of the Wise, the Learned & the Chaste.
> Here too the Young the Witty & the Gay
> Secure in fearless innocence may stray:
> [Here may the Nymphs of Richmond, Ham & Sheene
> Sport o'er the Lawn & Gambol on the green
> With Academicks Spruce & Captains nice,
> Indulge the Frolick, - but forbear the vice.][194]
> In walls by Hardwicke founded, safely tread;

[193] A sham ruin is exactly this, marking something which is a modern construction as something from past. Acting out the past in the present forms the joining of these two concepts. Mere gothic revival or style is not enough. The aim is not to return to the gothic period, rather the emphasis is on the fusion of the two, using history to build or better the present.

[194] These lines in brackets were added in a postscript with their position in the poem noted with an asterix.

And find no Harry & no lawless Bed.[195]

The specific reference here to a lustful Monarch and injur'd Queen, as well as Harry in the last line and the relation to Ampthill, relates this to Henry the Eighth specifically, while Wray's verses are less specific.

In a letter dated 25 October (no year given), Cambridge playfully chided Yorke on his choosing Wray's lines, and added that 'Since the Verses cost me so much pains I insist on their being put upon the Ruin and for that end have sent the Notes'.[196] When Yorke apparently refused his lines again, Cambridge replied, 'I am sorry to find y[ou]r l[ordshi]p is more solicitous for y[ou]r litterary [sic] than for y[ou]r Moral character.'[197] In that same letter, Cambridge proposes a much more pointed alternative to his previous verses:

> Ye Nymphs of Kew of Richmond & of Sheen
> With Caution dance & gambol on the green.
> And ever midst these treach'rous ruins, tread
> With virgin prudence & becoming dread
> Less the delusive Antiquary Spread
> Amidst the Saintlike Halls, the Lawless Bed.[198]

Cambridge's verses indicate first a primary emphasis on historical specifics, while his second, following his chiding Yorke for caring more for literary than moral character, confirm the Tower as an object of both art and antiquarian focus. In Cambridge's pointed second verse there is an implication that if the condemnation of moral vice is not clear, it will once again spread.

Both Cambridge's and Wray's poems give the reader a progression from historical association to artistic concerns. The figure of the antiquarian acts as a mediator,

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[195] British Library, Additional MS 35611, f. 199. Letter from 'ROC' (Richard Owen Cambridge) to the 2nd Earl Hardwicke (19 October, no year given).
[196] British Library Additional MS 35611, ff. 202-204. (25 October, no year given).
[197] British Library Additional MS 35611, ff. 205. Letter from Cambridge to the 2nd Earl (undated).
[198] British Library Additional MS 35611, ff. 205. Letter from Cambridge to the 2nd Earl (undated).

creating a bridge between history and artistic production. Cambridge's original verse draws the reader into the ruins, inviting them to explore and enjoy the 'Haunt of the Wise'. The revised verse senses a danger in interacting with the space, reconsidering whether the 1st Earl was correct in keeping the Tower at a prescribed distance, lest the past be repeated.

To return to the print containing Wray's verses, the image of the Tower in the print is from a viewpoint taken just south of the Tower, at the bottom of the hill near the artificial lakes. From this angle, the 1st Earl of Hardwicke's eye-catcher design, as well as the illusion of antiquity, remains intact. Yet, the emphasis on the artistic aspect of the Tower in the second half of Wray's poem, and even more so Cambridge's call to stray and 'frolick' on the green, or in his second verse to tread the 'treach'rous ruins' with prudence, invite the reader to go beyond the presented façade.

When Wray's verses were published in *The Annual Register*, they appeared without the image, yet the invitation to explore the tower appears subtly in the title; 'Inscription *in* a Tower at W-, in the County of Cambridge' (emphasis added). In reading the lines in the tower, the reader is momentarily brought into the ruin where the lines are supposed to have appeared. It should be noted that there is no indication that these lines were ever physically present on the Wimpole ruin. The implication that they are as indicated in the poem's title is another fiction. Yet, the rhetorical move here implies that by reading these, we are imaginatively occupying that space in the ruins where the lines are supposed to have appeared. These lines emphasize the experience of the actual landscape and the Tower, which draws the visitor further up the hill, past the façade and into the heart of the *fabrique*.

Records indicating how the Yorke family used the Tower have yet to come to light. The structure itself, however, provides strong evidence that the Gothic Tower as

built by the 2nd Earl was a more interactive and complex garden structure than was designed, or even desired, by the 1st Earl. Unlike Flitcroft's early design, and even some of Miller's sketches, this *fabrique* is multi-layered, and the curious, exploratory visitor is rewarded. Once the visitor has understood the illusion, the game, they are rewarded with the view and the pleasure derived from the aesthetic prospect from the tower (fig. 31). This indicates that the Gothic Tower at Wimpole is a place from which to see, as well as an object to see. This distinction, as evident in the differences between original design and construction, is critical to understanding the paradox inherent in the experience of the landscape.

As a fabricated ruin, the Gothic Tower attempts to hide its origins as a modern construction. The front is brickwork plastered over to look like stone masonry with a few elements of actual stonework judiciously placed to appear like gothic-period masonry. Time is conjured through the crumbling fragments of the edifice, in the vegetation crawling around and through the structure. From the main Hall, as well as from several points in the garden, the Tower looks, for all intents and purposes, like a crumbling relic of the past. In its execution, however, there are elements that invite the visitor into and beyond the curtain walls. As seen in this image (fig. 27), there are doors and archways tucked behind layered walls and fragments that can only be seen when a viewer walks through the space. Arches and doorways, only half-glimpsed or intuited from a distance, unfold in a series of spaces that invite exploration.

Once inside the Tower complex, the 'masonry' gives way to brickwork, and the illusion starts to collapse. The game becomes one of discovery, and delighting in the intellectual conversation that occurs between visitor and edifice, as s/he discovers the structure from all angles. From here, several viewpoints allow visitors to look back over the garden. A viewing platform on the back of the curtain wall may have existed at one

point. In this photograph (fig. 32) an indistinct line is visible where a platform may have attached to the wall, as well as a fragment of steps of some kind leading up to one of the gaps in the curtain wall. The windows in the wall and tower are a bit too tall for the average viewer looking from the ground, but with a platform raising them up a few feet a visitor might easily gaze through the windows.

These viewpoints, along with Brown's execution of the design as a more complete structure that could be used as a prospect room, radically alter the nature of the structure and the landscape. Rather than the 1st Earl's object from the house, this Gothic Tower is multi-layered, and the curious, exploratory visitor is rewarded. Once the visitor has figured out the game (or *jeu*), they are rewarded with the view, the pleasure derived from the aesthetic prospect laid out for them from the tower and its various viewing points.

PROSPECTS AND VIEWPOINTS

Once inside the Tower, the visitor is offered a view of the surrounding area. This image from the base of the Tower (fig. 31), shows the Hall framed within the landscape, in a reversal of the usual interpretation of the Tower as a picturesque object. During the construction of the Gothic Tower in the 1770s, works by William Shenstone, William Gilpin, Thomas Whately, and others, contribute to the increasingly popular aesthetic generally termed the Picturesque.[199] In the picturesque aesthetic, ruins create a particular atmosphere based on a certain view, and add variation to a landscape.

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[199] Though it is not the focus of this article, it is worth noting that the period between the conception and construction of the folly is often regarded as the beginning of the rise of the Picturesque. See, for example, William Shenstone, *Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening* (1764), Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770), and William Gilpin, *Observations on the River* Wye (1782). The Picturesque has more recently been the subject of several journal articles, scholarly debates and conferences, and book projects, including Malcolm Andrews *The Search for the Picturesque* (1989), John Dixon Hunt's *Gardens and the Picturesque* (1992), Stephen Copley and Peter Garside's edited collection *The Politics of the Picturesque* (1994), as well as Ross "The Picturesque: An Eighteenth-Century Debate," and Marshall "The

Jemima's description of Brown's alterations to the Tower notes that through his counter-ruin measures, it has 'unpicturesqued' the work to a degree. This is often cited as evidence of the Marchioness' dissatisfaction with Brown's alterations, yet the statement continues, 'However as it makes altogether a greater object it won't do ill, and the upper part of the wall, if well done, may yet be sufficiently varied.'[200] Lady Grey's comments reveal her participation, to a certain degree, in the increasingly popular 'picturesque' taste in her desire to see the tower ruinous and varied. Still further, her comments about Brown's ability to bring out the visionary touches in the landscape "with the same Effect as a Painter's Pencil upon Canvass [sic]."[201] The use of landscape painting as a frame of reference for landscape garden design is well worn scholarly territory. Yet, the alterations made by Brown, if we are to follow Lady Grey's comments, run counter to this increasingly popular aesthetic. These changes result in 'altogether a greater object', indicating that more is intended here than merely a picturesque object in the garden.

The picturesque occurs in several aesthetic treatises during the eighteenth century. Ruins occupy a privileged space in works by William Gilpin's, as their fragmented form offers a pleasing variety consistent with the principles of the picturesque.[202] Yet Cambridgeshire itself did not impress Gilpin during his travels.[203] Cambridgeshire has,

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Problem of the Picturesque," just to name a few. As these works indicate, the rise of the Picturesque as an aesthetic, a mode of viewing, and its social, political and other effects, merit a much longer discussion than is intended or desired here. The rise in popularity of the Picturesque certainly affects the reception of the Wimpole Tower, yet this is usually to its detriment as tours such as those made popular by William Gilpin's works such as *Observations on the River Wye…in the Summer of the Year 1770* (first published in 1782, but circulated prior to its publication), etc. avoided the Cambridgeshire area.

[200] BRO Lucas Collection, L/30/11/122/26. Letter from Jemima Marchioness Grey to Lady Amabel Polwarth.

[201] BRO, Lucas Collection L9a/9 f. 125.

[202] Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye, and Several parts of South Wales, &c. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*.

[203] Reverend William Gilpin, *Observations on several parts of the counties of Camrbidge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. Also on several parts of North Wales; relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, in two tours, the former made in the year 1769. The latter in the year 1773*. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1809): 18.

since Gilpin's rather unfavorable opinions on the county, had a reputation for having characteristically un-picturesque topography. The landscape around Wimpole does not have the mountains, rushing waters, and rugged terrains favored by this advocate of the picturesque. What it does have, and what has been highlighted by the experience of the Gothic Tower, is the county's potential as a thoroughly beautiful landscape.[204] Its hills and farms and trees create an aesthetic more firmly grounded in the tastes promoted by earlier writers of garden design and aesthetics. The views from the tower, or even just from the supposed viewing platform a few feet off the ground, a prospect of the countryside opens up to the viewer that would have been very much within the taste established by Alexander Pope and James Thomson.[205] To get at this aesthetic experience, however, requires a vantage point offered by these elements of the Tower.

Contrary to Gilpin, perhaps even directly arguing with his conclusions, given the time period, Wimpole's Gothic Tower presents Cambridgeshire as an aesthetic landscape, though a different, earlier aesthetic with different ideological implications than Gilpin's own.[206] The view of the Hall from the Tower in particular evokes the aesthetic in James Thomson's *The Seasons* (1726 – 1730), particularly in the section titled Spring. In this section, Thomson admonishes those who may think themselves above agricultural landscapes, and later praises the beauty of the meadow.[207] This part of *The Seasons* also

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"It is such a country as a man would wish to see once for curiosity; but would never desire to visit a second time."

[204] Beautiful in the Burkean sense. See Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, London, 1757.

[205] Alexander Pope, *The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), and Thomson, James. The Seasons. (1726 – 1730) Edited by James Sambrook. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981). Thomson's works were well enmeshed in the cultural mindset of those creating and designing gardens by this point.

[206] Philip Yorke the 2nd grew up between Wimpole and London. His time at Cambridge was most likely punctuated with visits to the family estate, and we have reason to believe that much of his early literary works were developed and composed here as well as at Wrest Park. It is reasonable to assume he may have felt deeply invested in the Cambridgeshire landscape.

[207] Thomson, "Spring," *The Seasons,* Lines 52 – 67, and 503 – 507.

includes a passage describing Hagley Park, thereby reinforcing the connection between this similar view from the Gothic Tower at Wimpole, and the aesthetics of Hagley.

This consideration of the view from the Tower also further complicates an interpretation of the landscape put forward by David Adshead. In his Catalog on Wimpole's archives and drawings, Adshead proposes that Athenian Stuart's classical structure provided a modern-ancient dialog with the Gothic Tower. If, as Adshead suggests, the Prospect House was meant to form a pendant to the Gothic Tower in the garden as a meditation on ancient and modern the more modern structure acting as the modern counterpart to the 'ancient' Tower, one would assume the Prospect House should overlook the ruins. On the contrary, the Gothic Tower overlooks the site hall and the Prospect House, though if it were backed by trees as in the print the structure itself would not have been visible. In fact, from all available evidence, the Prospect House was situated on a hill west of the House with only a view to the south and east over the south park. This site does not provide any visual interaction with the Gothic Tower. From the Prospect House, the Hall is somewhat visible, but one needs to walk a bit from the hill, past the Hall, and into the North Park before the Gothic Tower becomes visible.

The *fabrique* of the Gothic ruins stand tall and proud on a hill that commands by far the most complete view of the landscape. The Tower can be seen from nearly everywhere, except the Prospect House front. The back of the Prospect House, if the prints can be relied upon, would have been partially obscured by the hill and the trees, not to mention that the design does not indicate any attention to the back, with no indication of a view or windows, and the main façade was south facing.

From Johnson's hill, the Prospect House may not have been visible either (it is hard to tell as the building is no longer extant), though it may have been visible from the viewing platforms and rooms of the Tower itself. The Prospect House's presence in the

garden is certainly a further complexity on the Tower's conception, but it seems most likely that there was a lack of visual communication between the two structures. At most, the conversation was one way, looking from the Tower to the classical structure.

Unlike the gothic ruins at the Leasowes (1743 – 1763), Rievaulx Terrace at Duncombe Park (1758), or Fountains Abbey from Studley Royal (the Abbey incorporated into the landscape garden in 1768), we do not look down on the ruins from a classical structure or some other privileged viewpoint. What is more, there is ample evidence that in point of fact we look from the hill and the tower as much as to it. A more useful reciprocal pair then would probably be the main Hall and the Tower, rather than the Prospect House. From the Tower, the Hall becomes the object in the garden, set amidst a particular aesthetic as advocated by Thomson.

FABRICATION AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION: INTERPRETING THE TOWER

Historical association and antiquarian interests pervade much of Philip and Jemima Yorke's landscape tours in the mid-eighteenth century. Before constructing the tower at Wimpole, the Yorkes visited several ruins, including Kenilworth Castle near Warwick, and Fountains Abbey near Studley Royal. In their letters and journals, they intersperse historical details with their descriptions of wandering over the piles of ruined walls and up partially destroyed towers. Responding to the associative effect of the ruins their imaginations take them back to when the stones rested more firmly on one another, allowing those fragments to bring history to life.[208] Their fascination with exploring these

[208] Jemima and Philip Yorke both wrote journals and letters describing their various tours around England, often commenting on various buildings and ruins in gardens. Letters and Manuscripts of Journals largely found at the Bedfordshire County Record Office and the British Library. A narrative summary of Jemima's life and tours, with an additional transcription of some of Philip Yorke's tours, has been published; See Godber, "The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park", 41.

sites, not merely viewing them from afar, lends further importance to the interactive nature of the Gothic Tower at Wimpole.

In exploring such ruins, one's antiquarian imagination, or tendencies toward historical association might be satisfied.[209] While exploring the Gothic Tower at Wimpole, however, the illusion of the *fabrique* fragments and falls away to reveal the actual, feigned nature of the structure. Once the visitor discovers the elements indicative of the fabrication, they are led to contemplate the view out into the landscape surrounding Wimpole, centered on the main Hall. Unlike the 1st Earl of Hardwicke's plan, in which he insisted that no time was to be wasted on function or structure since this was just to be an eye-catcher, the Tower as built included several elements for viewing from and interacting with the structure.

Structures built purely as objects to be seen from a distance were built throughout England in the mid-eighteenth century, including the Eyecatcher at Rousham, and Shenstone's Ruined Priory at the Leasowes. Though these are largely designed in the ecclesiastical gothic style, the eye-catcher as an object in the distance remains the same. During his improvements at Wimpole, Hardwicke sought advice from Shenstone, and it is possible the Lord Chancellor sought to employ a very similar device as that employed in Shenstone's landscape.[210] This is one of the key assumptions on which Stewart bases

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[209] Whately, and associationism in general, are at play here.

[210] BL Add. MS 35679, ff. 73 – 75, dated 1752. A letter at the British Library that discusses hints on gardening from a Mr. S, possibly William Shenstone, given the 1st Earl of Hardwicke's connections to Hagley and Sir George Lyttelton, and Shenstone's connections to that place/family (Shenstone's own landscape, The Leasowes, is near Hagley). Gervase Jackson-Stops gives the credit for the letter to Shenstone, though Adshead notes that Miller and Shenstone were rivals and this puts the credit in doubt (Adshead, *Wimpole*, 53). Miller's involvement at Hagley, while Shenstone was equally, if contentiously, involved with the same people and places indicates that this is a real possibility. The alterations suggested in the letter are all of a landscape character consistent with Shenstone's work. Gervase Jackson-Stops. *An English Arcadia: 1600 – 1990: Designs for Gardens and Garden Buildings in the Care of the National Trust of Great Britain,* (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects Press, 1992): 44.

his interpretation of the Gothic Tower as another in a long line of objects celebrating the fall of the Jacobites.

As Charlesworth notes in a brief discussion of Shenstone's ruined priory, "A reader of Shenstone's poems will notice that in them the ruined abbeys are only ever seen from a distance. They are kept safely in perspective, as if it would be too dangerous to approach or enter them."[211] A viewer can safely view the moldering ruins from a superior vantage point, both literally and ideologically. Distance allows the space for contemplation and condemnation, a celebration of the destruction of the past. Destructive forces and crumbling buildings are far less appealing if they are falling down around you.

With so much time and attention paid to maintaining the illusion of a Gothic ruin, the invitation into the ruins, where the fabrication becomes evident, seems contradictory. Yet Yorke's own life, particularly his literary works, focused intently on the use of the feigned character, as he calls it in the *Philosopher* papers. The mature developments of this feigned character manifested in the *Athenian Letters* and the *English Mercurie*, where fictional façades gave way to greater truths or ideas.

At Wrest Park in Bedfordshire, the Yorke's literary and gardening pursuits are explicitly connected through the fictional character of Cleander, the central figure of the *Athenian Letters*, and, according to the Marchioness, the person responsible for raising the Altar. In *The Philosopher* and Yorke's later works, the format, the fabrication, of his work was as important as the content. Other letters in *The Philosopher* detail the necessity of entertaining readers in order to better deliver a message or lesson. In the *Athenian Letters*, the preface specifically notes:

> [W]e may entertain a more adequate notion of the customs of the Greeks and Persians from these letters of our agents, in which the living manners are

[211] Charlesworth, "Sacred Landscape," 62.

> expressed, than we can possibly entertain from the most formal and elaborate treatises of grave antiquaries.[212]

That is, the engagement with these fabricated letters gives a better notion of history than elaborate and formal works. Yorke's antiquarian interests were broad and varied, as was typical of the period and his intellectual circle.[213] However it seems he had a preference for the Tudor era. The *English Mercurie,* if we can take Thomas Watts' analysis of the author as genuine, is one of the products of Yorke's interest in the Tudor era. The fabricated English newspaper details the specifics of the actions and reactions of the English versus the Spanish Armada during the time of Queen Elizabeth I. This locates both the *English Mercurie* and the Gothic Tower in the same basic historical period and theme. The connection is not nearly as direct as the Mithraic Altar and the *Athenian Letters*, but once again a fictional history, a recreation of historical events told in an entertaining way, correlates very closely with a physical structure in the garden.

The inviting nature of the Gothic Tower at Wimpole draws visitors to look behind the curtain and discover the fabrication indicating a similar preoccupation with the form, the fictional nature of the *fabrique*. Even those who were not able to explore the Tower take care to emphasize its fabricated nature. Travel writings and descriptions in letters and journals leave no room to doubt that it is, in fact, an imitation, a fabrication. Even during the construction, Agneta Yorke writes to her sister in law Jemima Marchioness Grey that 'tho I saw them [the ruins] begun and finished yet I can scarce persuade myself that they are artificial.'[214] Though the artifice is convincing, the fact of the fabrication remains. Later, in 1800, James Plumptre praises the tower on account of its illusion,

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212 *Athenian Letters,* vol. 1 (London, 1741), p. viii.
213 See Miller, "The 'Hardwicke Circle'," 73 – 91.
214 Bedfordshire Record Office, Lucas MSS, L/30/9/97/32, Letter from Agneta Yorke to Lady Jemima Grey, 7th September, 1774. Also noted in Adshead, *Wimpole*, 48.

saying, 'I have no where seen so good an imitation.'[215] Again, praise of the illusion is the object here, but in both cases the authors take pains to be clear that they understand the fabricated quality of the structure.

Underscoring the fabricated nature indicates that these ruins are not simply fakes of a non-specific original; that they were not merely taken, as Thomas Whately advised, as having the same yet lesser effect as their authentic counterparts.[216] They are fabricated, fictional works and objects with their own particular qualities and effects, including but not limited to their iconographic reference to ruins and the gothic. As such the Gothic Tower has more in common with the book-room and print-room, with the villas and *ferme ornées* of the second half of Wray's poem. As in that same poem, the peripatetic experience of the Tower moves from imagined historical associations, emphasized by distance, toward asserting its identity as a purely artistic object. Indeed, as a gothic ruin that is *also* a *fabrique*, or art object, it practices the very call to action in the print, "Oh might our age in happy concert join the manly virtues of the Norman Lines".[217]

This marks a significant shift between the stated desires of the 1st and 2nd Earls. The 1st Earl of Hardwicke's eye-catcher relied on a distancing of the past, framing it as an object from the house. Philip Yorke the 2nd, on the other hand, assimilates the building into the experience of the landscape. A visitor to Wimpole, by the very act of exploring the landscape and the tower, is drawn into the Tower and becomes a part of its fabrication through the act of looking out from the tower to gaze toward the hall.[218]

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215 Plumptre. *A Journal of a Tour to the Source of the River Cam,* 30.
216 Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, 132.
217 "Inscription in a Tower at W-, in the County of Cambridge," 196.
218 Charlesworth, "Sacred Landscape," 65. This reverses the usual dynamic, as noted by Charlesworth at Rievaulx Abbey, the placements of which he describes as "a perspectival metonymic reduction, in which the buildings are maintained as fragmented by the distanced and dominant position of the overseeing eye".

What, then, is the effect of the fabricated ruin? What is the use of climbing through a pile of stones with no direct connection to any 'authentic' history? If we are to assume that a visitor understands the Tower as a fabrication, and is not taken in by its feigned character, we cannot simply say that it has exactly that same effect as an actual ruin (if such a pure category exists at all). The understanding of the fabrication colors the experience of the object. The key may lie in this fascination for exploring ruins, but in the case of the fabricated ruin the exploration confronts the fiction of the structure and acknowledges the creative, even productive, aspect of the imagination, not merely relating bare facts. As with the *Athenian Letters*, the fabrication allows the imagination to *connect* with or even create, not merely recite, history.

Fabricating a ruin, therefore, takes on much the same character as literary fabrications. Foregrounded by his early conclusions on the usefulness of 'feigned character', Yorke's *jeux d'esprit* actively engage with the production of knowledge through fictionalized accounts or formats. Drawing from the *Athenian Letters* preface as well as *The Philosopher* papers, these formats allowed a more in-depth and engaging understanding of history. A bare retelling of history left in the distanced past, or nostalgia for a bygone era, is useless unless it can be digested and re-created into the seeds or foundations of the present and/or future. In exploring the Tower, the visitor participates in the fabrication, and the view out to the then-recently renovated main hall creates a continuous dialogue between the past and the present.

The game of the gothic folly, the *jeu*, evokes the past but continues to insist on its present-ness, its fiction. It is a fabrication and like the *Athenian Letters*, or even more aptly the Gothic, that is Tudor-era, and intentionally fragmented *English Mercurie*, it evokes the spirit of a bygone age in the language of the present as a material, three-dimensional *jeu d'esprit*. Through the Gothic style and illusion of ruined antiquity, the

tower reinforces the association of the Yorke family with the Gothic era, the 'Norman' period, the baron's wars, and eventually the Magna Charta, as noted in the verses on the Gothic folly print, with all of its political weight. The connection, however, is based on a fabrication, though a useful one. The folly, *because* it is a construction, is a physical metaphor for Yorke's antiquarian activities and writings. Unlike his father's reductive approach to the ruined Gothic eye-catcher, Yorke claims authority and political connection to this illustrious past based on his literary and antiquarian work. The very nature of the tower as a *fabrique* recalls the feigned character of Yorke's writings. In that fabrication reader and visitor alike are encouraged to play the game, to interact with imagined histories, and to understand and create the stories that form the foundation of the present reality.

CONCLUSIONS

The form and the staging of Wimpole's Gothic Tower, and of the Altar at Wrest, are fundamental to understanding the choices that define each. While the altar is enclosed in its grove, the Gothic Tower is raised up on a prominent hill. Unlike the Altar at Wrest, the Gothic Tower allows for views of an extensive landscape surrounding the Wimpole estate. The Altar at Wrest, set as it is in a kind of valley surrounding by trees and reached only by walking through a dark forest, creates a sense of emerging into the light from the darkness. But there are no prospects here. Wrest itself is very flat, like much of Bedfordshire, and there was no attempt to make it otherwise.

If the Altar at Wrest displays the enclosure and retreat to nature typical of the hermit-sage trope, those who retreat to read the book of nature,[219] then the Gothic Tower may represent reading the book of man, the exploration of history, in order to gain a clear

[219] See Dominic Gavin, "'The Garden' and Marvell's Literal Figures," *The Cambridge Quarterly*, (vol. 37, no. 2, 2008): 224 – 252. The 'Book of Nature' trope and Andrew Marvell's poetic works.

view of the modern landscape, in both the literal and metaphorical sense. The use of the ruin form is especially necessary here. Works from the late eighteenth century emphasize the associative quality of ruins as their primary draw. The ruinous fragments are marks of time and destruction, and stand as witnesses to history, a palpable connection to the people and events that make up the past, creating the foundation of the present.

A fabricated ruin, however, mimics these qualities. Whateley says these follies are similar in their quality, just to lesser effect. Yet as we have shown, the fictional quality of these marks of time and destruction, the act of fragmentation, the fabricated nature of the entire structure, is understood by the patrons, designers, and it was expected of most viewers. This expectation is revealed when the viewer does not understand the codes at work, as indicated in the Marchioness' humor at the confusion about the Mithraic Altar from someone like the Duchess of Bedford or the learned gentlemen from Cambridge. Allusion, wit and the subtleties of the garden folly, as indicated in the Marchioness Grey's letters, reveal a pervasive assumption that everyone understands the fabricated nature of the landscape.

Like architectural spaces, gardens host a variety of people, and foster a similarly varied spectrum of emotions. In the case of Wrest and Wimpole in particular, the personal letters and journals of the Yorke family indicate a number of visitors to the properties. The link between the Mithraic Altar and the *Athenian letters* is particularly useful here. The Athenian letters are attributed to Philip Yorke, as the primary author, yet it was a group effort. Several people from the 'Hardwicke circle' contributed to the collection of 'letters' including the 'priest of the Altar,' Thomas Birch.[220] These letters present a singular voice, a single object, while also representing the collective effort and

[220] Miller, "The 'Hardwicke Circle'," 73 – 91. The 'Hardwicke Circle' used by Miller to refer to those in Philip Yorke the 2nd's scholarly, political, and social circles.

participation of several close friends and family. I would argue that the Altar is similar, in its origins as a collective design, as a manifestation of a social community. Its very inception, as part of the collective effort of the *Athenian Letters*, and its reception continues to bear this out, as many visitors, family members, involved in that literary work often visited and discussed the altar. It is the product of, and used as currency in, the Yorke's circle.

The Yorkes, and Philip Yorke in particular, actively engaged in creating and reconstructing histories, and the construction of the Altar very specifically references his literary fabrication. Throughout these works, the continued emphasis is on the value of the *jeu d'esprit*, the game, the fiction, that entertains while it instructs. Philip Yorke's participation in the Royal Society, Society of Antiquaries, and the activities of those in his circle, underscore the importance of the historical project at the heart of both Wrest and Wimpole. The verses attributed to Daniel Wray on the Wimpole Tower print argue for the role of art, imagination, and fabrication in the active engagement with history.

As Stephen Bann has noted, the strategies for discovering and presenting 'history' were many and varied and ever changing. In *Inventions of History* Bann develops a cultural matrix adding cultural and subjective aspects to the process of creating history. He describes the development of historical reconstruction in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a "process of attaining a particular viewpoint", mastering the materials to order them according to particular perspective.[221] In the case of the Yorkes at

[221] Stephen Bann, *The Inventions of History: Essays on the Representation of the Past* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1990): 28. "I suggest that it may be more revealing to think of the whole process of historical reconstruction, particularly in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century cases with which we have been concerned, as the process of attaining a particular *viewpoint*. In other words, mastery of the historical materials is equated with setting them out in an intelligible order which can be termed *perspectival*."

Wimpole, the fabricated antiquity of the Gothic Tower gives that view of the Hall in a manner that argues for a participatory role in antiquity.

At Wimpole fabrication is used to emphasize the process of a particular approach to history. The confusion indicated by Thomas Watts regarding the *English Mercurie* indicates a shift in accepted uses of fiction. By introducing the spectre of forgery, the Watts essays indicate a change in the value of those fabrications. While at Wrest the connection with literary fabrication connection is clear, the Gothic Tower at Wimpole is subtler in its evocation of fiction. However, there is an inscription and a pseudo-historical reference present in the form of the Mitred Bust. According to the records, this was an actual bust, which by its presence, along with some of the masonry which was reportedly also from antique sources, in the Gothic Tower further complicates its relation to history and historical fiction.[222] Such processes are clearly the case at Wrest, where the Mithraic Altar both substantiates the Athenian letters by its presence, while also being identified and contextualized by that same fictional text. The fabrication and the fiction work in concert together to manifest and authenticates the imaginary.

At Wimpole especially, the Gothic Tower's fabrication relies on a participatory, and generative approach to history and historical imagination. The degree to which the Tower, and the Altar, are received as fictions further underscores the importance of this quality in understanding each of these landscapes. While this may seem antithetical, England in the mid eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was historically conscious. According to Rumiko Handa, "serious studies of historical events and fictional representations of the past were not necessarily mutually exclusive. Instead, historical research was motivated by a romantic longing for the past, and historical knowledge was

[222] Menuge and Cooper, *The Gothic Folly*, 17.

incorporated into the imagined past."[223] At Wimpole, this is made clear in the poem attached to the print of the Gothic Tower. It is also implied in the view of the Hall, symbolic of the 'present', from the Tower, the act of taking in the prospect integrates the act of making the past into the foundations for the present.

The historical reconstructions Bann cites rely on particular lenses, informed by the subjective and cultural biases of the period. While not a 'deception' in the purest sense, such reconstructions rely, necessarily, on a great deal of imagination and construction. In the case of Wimpole, the very format of that process, the fabrication, is folded in to the experience of the landscape through the Tower. The ruined aesthetic foregrounds historical associations, but the fabrication makes it possible to interact, to create, or re-create, the past. In *Inventions of History*, Bann argues that we must always be conscious of the making of history.[224] This emphasis on the making of history is consistent with the Yorke's scholarly interests and involvement in various antiquarian activies and groups. In the landscape at Wimpole this process is made explicit in the form of the Gothic Tower, demonstrating that the making requires an historical mindedness that is a synechdochic assimilation, one that requires the visitor's participation to fully realize.

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[223] Handa and Potter, eds. *Conjuring the Real,* 5.

[224] Bann, *The Inventions of History,* 9. Quoting Hans Kellner: "If one agrees with Huizinga that history is the way in which a culture deals with its own past, then historical understanding is a vital cultural enterprise, and the historical imagination an important, if neglected, human faculty. Because the sources of history include in a primary sense the fundamental human practice of rhetoric, we cannot forget that our ways of making sense of history must emphasize the *making*."

Chapter 2: *Paysage Illusoire*: Translating Illusion in the Schwetzingen *Schlossgarten*

Though the 2nd Earl of Hardwicke was unable to complete the usual Grand Tour, he encouraged his nephew and heir, Philip Yorke the 3rd, to travel. The young Yorke's tour took him through current-day Germany on the way to Italy. While Yorke's letters to his uncle are a fascinating study of manners and a comprehensive list of places, he rarely takes the time to elaborate on what he has seen until he gets to Italy, except in a few exceptional cases which included the Elector Palatine Charles Theodore's[225] palace and gardens at Schwetzingen.[226] Using this connection as an entry point, the following chapter explores the *jardin anglais* portion of Schwetzingen, built under the direction of the architect Nicholas de Pigage (1723 – 1796) and head gardener Friedrich Ludwig Sckell, through both design and experience of the space.[227]

While the experience of illusion at Wimpole predominantly manifested in the fabricated nature of the Gothic Tower, the experience of Schwetzingen relies on an acknowledgement of illusion and artifice in the landscape garden as a whole. At Wimpole and Wrest, fictions employ a series of codes understood by a select group, a series of associations that include the feigning nature of the *fabrique* itself. At Schwetzingen, the experience of the landscape relies on the process of experiencing and recognizing the process of illusion to frame the aesthetic experience of the landscape. Encountering

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[225] Alternate spellings: Charles, or Karl, Theodore. Prince-Elector and Count Palatine from 1742, Duke of Julich and Berg from 1742, and Prince-Elector and Duke of Bavaria from 1777.

[226] The letters between Philip Yorke the 2nd and his nephew, Philip Yorke the 3rd, are kept in the British Library, Add MSS 35378. Fragments from Philip Yorke the 3rd's journal of his travels is also kept in the British Library, Add MSS 36258.

[227] Hartmut Troll, *Schwetzingen palace gardens* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2008). Troll gives primacy to the head gardener, Friedrich Ludwig Sckell. The evidence does suggest an equal partnership, and throughout the rest of the chapter it should be noted that while my emphasis is on Pigage, due to both my particular focus on the architectural aspects of the landscape as well as Pigage's travels, many of the designs currently attributed to him may have also been substantially supported by Sckell's work.

illusion in this space highlights the visitor's inability to visually master the space, primarily because of the placement of the various fabrications which requires the visitor to rely instead on sensory experience and imagination.

This chapter focuses on two distinct manifestations of illusion at Schwetzingen that rely on one another to create a full range of aesthetic experiences from the artistic, or artificial, to the natural. These features are the 'Nature Temple,' the *Perspektiv*, and the ruined Roman Aqueduct, located in the northern part of the gardens, in the center right of the map included with the *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen* published in Paris c. 1814 (fig. 33). In this detail of the map (fig. 34) the Nature Temple is located at G, the *Perspektiv* is marked at I, and the Roman Aqueduct at M, noted by arrows. These features anchor three garden spaces within the larger landscape, each with its own aesthetic. As a whole, however, these three areas rely on various levels of theatricality and illusion. The spatial and conceptual integration of the actual theater, located in the northern wing of the palace, and this part of the landscape indicates that these gardens rely on the ideological and imaginative frameworks associated with the theater as much as the theater relies on imagery and perceptions formed in the garden.

Schwetzingen, though the property of a German Elector, has its mid to late eighteenth century designs rooted in French, Italian, and English sources. The 'English style' garden, or *jardin anglais*, is only a portion of the Schwetzingen landscape, but the ways in which the idea of the English landscape garden are translated and experienced there are of direct relevance to this study. As several scholars have thoroughly demonstrated, the ideas central to the English landscape garden style did not stay confined to England.[228] Certain aspects of the style transposed themselves into the wider

[228] See, David C. Stuart, *Georgian Gardens* (London: Hale, 1979). Watkin, *The English Vision*. John Dixon Hunt, *The Picturesque Garden in Europe* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2002). Also, Charlesworth, *Landscape and Vision in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France*. And, Christian Cajus

visual culture within and beyond the borders of Britain. In Germany especially, as well as in France, several gardens in the 'English style' began to appear in the late eighteenth century. In *Georgian Gardens*, David Stuart includes Schwetzingen among the examples of English landscape garden styles translated abroad.[229] The following chapter re-examines this stylistic analysis to explore the ways in which key concepts manifest in this particular translation of the English landscape garden.

In France, the *jardin anglais* was popularized through the writings and works of various figures, including Claude Watelet in *Essai sur les jardins* (1774), Rene Girardin's *De la Composition des Paysages* (1777) and his landscape at Ermenonville, and Louis Carrogis Carmontelle at Jardin Monceau (c. 1770s). According to Stephen Pinson, Girardin and Carmontelle both felt the connection between theatre and garden design most deeply, and advised the use of stage design as a method to design landscapes.[230] In the description of his own Jardin Monceau, Carmontelle comments directly on the *jardin anglais*, and the nature of illusion in the garden. Carmontelle himself resisted the description of Monceau as a 'jardin anglais', claiming this was a new style, inspired by the English but decidedly French in its execution.[231] Though Carmontelle was quick to claim his illusionistic design principles as a particularly French design, he relied on the

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Lorenz (CCL) Hirschfeld. *Theory of Garden Art*, ed. and trans. by Linda B. Parshall, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

[229] Stuart, *Georgian Gardens*, 92.

[230] Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 56.

[231] *Jardin de Monceau, Près de Paris, appartenant à son Altesse Sérénissme Monseigneur Le Duc de Chartres* (Paris: M. Delafosse and MM. Né & Masqueliers, 1779): 5. "Si nous avons eu le desir d'imiter les Jardins Anglois [sic], ce n'étoit [sic] que pour sortir de la monotonie des nôtres, & nos nouveaux Jardins ne seront pas tourjours mal faits, parce qu'ils ne ressembleront pas servilement à ceux des Anglois." Patricia Taylor, *Thomas Blaikie (1751 – 1838): The 'Capability' Brown of France* (East Linton, East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell, 2001): 113. Taylor argues "In spite of Carmontelle's insistence that his garden was not an English one, it was certainly influenced by earlier English gardens and was most often compared to Stowe. It was also criticised for the same reasons; too many buildings and artefacts in a small space at too great anexpense. These are exactly the criticisms Blaikie made when he visited Monceau for the first time in 1777."

English for a variety of aspects for the gardens, including a picturesque mode of viewing, and English sources for developing his transparencies.[232] Carmontelle's insistence on his design not being an English one drove him to allegedly have 'Monceau is not an English garden' on a wall in the landscape.[233] His outspoken resistance indicates a prevalent application of such terms to his work.[234]

While occasionally referenced in works that discuss the *jardin anglais* on the continent, Schwetzingen is rarely connected in any way to any sense of a 'true' English landscape garden style.[235] Its overtly formal, that is primarily geometric or architectural, core, as well as political inconsistencies, generally make it an inconvenient example for those who rely on iconographic or stylistic interpretations.[236] Yet the direct connection with Wimpole through Philip Yorke 3rd, and the contemporary trends in France through the head architect Nicholas de Pigage, make Schwetzingen a tantalizing bookend to a worthwhile study in the translation and reception of the English landscape garden experience. The most intriguing development in this space is the way in which the formal and Italianate core, those areas that are overtly illusionistic or artificial, are integrated in to the surrounding *jardin anglais*. The theatricality of these illusions becomes a

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232 Laurence Chatel de Brancion, *Carmontelle au jardin des illusions* (Editions Monelle Hayout, 2003): 170. "Seule l'utlisation d'un papier souple, très fin et sans filigrane permet à Carmontelle d'obtenir la transparence recherchée. Une seule fabrique anglaise, Watman avait industrialisé la production de ce type de papier copié sur les modèles japonais. Par commodité au XVIIIe on utlisait la qualificatif < Chinois > pour toute provenance extrême-orientale." In a further association with the *jardin anglais,* these fabrics were not only English, but copied or derived from Japanese and Chinese sources.

233 Taylor, *Thomas Blaikie,* n. 22. "He apparently had the words, 'Monceau is not an English garden' written on the wall of the park. See A.F.F. de Frenilly, *Souvenirs du Baron de Frenilly, Peer of France* (London, 1909), p. 5, quoted in Dora Weiberson *The Picturesque Garden in France*, p. 76."

234 Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 57. Daguerre likely knew and drew from Carmontelle's transparencies and the Jardin Monceau in the conceptualization and realization of the Diorama.

235 Stuart, *Georgian Gardens,* 92 – 93. Describes Schwetzingen as almost attaining the 'true' English style, a problematic categorization from the outset.

236 Schwetzingen was the summer palace of the Elector Palatinate who, though friendly to the English personally, does not have direct ties with the Hanoverians and as, in fact, a vital part of the Holy Roman Empire, indicating a difference of religious, as well as political, affiliation.

productive framework for experiencing the *jardin anglais*, rather than an abrupt departure as adherents of stylistic analysis might expect.

Despite its size and status as a major landmark in Germany, only a few scholars have examined the Schwetzingen landscape. Claus Reisinger has published at least two texts on the landscape, the second with the collaboration of Carl Ludwig Fuchs.[237] Each of these is primarily an overview. While Reisinger and Fuchs do offer an interpretation of the overall iconographic programs present throughout the landscape, there is little sustained analysis of the design or the visitor's experience. Wiltrud Heber's work on Nicholas de Pigage provides an extensive archival examination of Schwetzingen, with some interpretation using a biographical approach.[238] Lili Gehrle-Burger's 1977 text explores the presence of the theater, and the role of opera specifically, at Schwetzingen.[239] Though this text does discuss the gardens, there is little elaboration on the role of the theater in the landscape, or further theorizing of the theatrical.

One of the most recent scholarly analyses of Schwetzingen is Ralf Richard Wagner's work on the Bathhouse and its gardens.[240] Wagner, who was trained as an art historian and has worked extensively with the Staatliche Baden-Würtenberg at Schwetzingen, provides a thorough analysis and several well-argued interpretations based on the iconographic program of the Bathhouse and the surrounding landscape. Wagner

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[237] Reisinger, Claus. *Der Schlossgarten zu Schwetzingen*. With photographs by Ingeborg Klinger, Claus Reisinger, and Ferdinand Werner (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1987). Also, Carl Ludwig Fuchs and Claus Reisinger. *Schloss und Garten zu Schwetzingen* (Worms am Rhein: Wernersche Verlagsgeschellschaft, 2001).

[238] Wiltrud Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage in den ehemals kurpfälzischen Residenzen Mannheim und Schwetzingen* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986).

[239] Lili Fehrle-Burger, *Die Welt der Oper in den Schlossgärten von Heidelberg und Schwetzingen*. (Karlsruhe: Braun, 1977).

[240] Ralf Richard Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen… Das Badhaus des Kurfürsten Carl Theodor von der Pfalz* (Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg, Heidelberg: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2009).

argues that a focus on just this part of the garden is justified as it was built as such.[241] He also defends his decision to not consider the *jardin anglais* because he associates the bathhouse, orangerie, and temple areas with the formal areas, saying that the *jardin anglais* was built later. This text also provides an excellent analysis of the design precedents for illusion and theatricality in the landscape. The following chapter builds on Wagner's analysis by considering reception and the experience of the landscape, as well as arguing for a re-examination of the transitions between the Bathhouse and the *jardin anglais* by re-orienting the analysis to consider reception through the early nineteenth century in addition to design.

Of particular interest at Schwetzingen is the transition between two areas of the landscape; the Bathhouse and the *jardin anglais*.[242] The Bathhouse, styled after an Italian *giardino secreto*, is framed by explicitly theatrical references and frameworks, and is the point of transition between those theatrical devices and the *jardin anglais*.[243] Note in the map detail (fig. 34), the *jardin anglais*, to the right of the image, is framed by the Rokoko-Theatre, in the palace east of the garden (at the bottom of the map), and by the Nature Theater to the south, between the large avenue and the *jardin*.

Beginning with design, this analysis discusses the forms and concepts of the theatrical and the *jardin anglais* as they are translated through the work of the architect

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[241] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen*, 10.

[242] Despite the emphasis on the *giardino segreto* and *jardin anglais* parts of the landscape, the aim of this chapter is not to reinforce stylistic topologies. Throughout the chapter I will use the term *jardin anglais* to refer to that specific portion of Schwetzingen that engages with the idea of the English landscape garden as it was translated through a variety of sources. These include the influence of French theorists, through Pigage who was educated in Paris and returned there frequently throughout the 1760s and 1770s, as well as Pigage and Sckell's visits to England, and the translation of English theories in Germany, both literally and as re-used and re-purposed by theorists such as C.C.L. Hirschfeld.

[243] A 'giardino segreto' in this context refers to a small, private garden. It is described as such in several sources, including Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen*, 11.

Nicholas de Pigage and the head gardener Frederich Ludwig Sckell.[244] Using design as a foundation, the following chapter will then analyze how late eighteenth and early nineteenth century visitors experienced, or were expected to experience, the space. As discussed in the Introduction, a visitor's experience is made up of a complex intersection of cultural and subjective contexts both as manifested in the design of the space, and those brought with the visitor, in the form of expectations and reactions to that design. In order to reach some understanding, this analysis will rely on guidebooks from the period and theoretical models drawn from the present. The guidebooks offer a series of reactions and expectations for the space for late eighteenth and early nineteenth century visitors.

Guidebooks to Schwetzingen are a fundamental source for the following analysis of the landscape.[245] Experiences in the garden were conditioned by expectations of how a *jardin anglais* should be experienced or understood, not least because of its appellation in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century guidebooks. One of the key elements of this chapter is a series of related guidebooks published in the early 19th century in both Paris and Germany. These guidebooks allow for a variety of ways to interact with and understand the space. Analysis of these as both individual, subjective experiences, as well

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[244] Wiltrud Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage in den ehemals kurpfälzischen Residenzen Mannheim und Schwetzingen*. (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, c. 1986): 11 – 22. Nicholas de Pigage was born in Lorraine in 1723, and in 1744 attended the Royal Academy of Architecture in Paris. By 1749 he was appointed by the Elector Palatinate, Charles Theodore, as intendent of Gardens and Waterworks. He made several visits to Paris during the following two decades. Once the Elector's head gardener at Schwetzingen, Petri, was relieved of his position in 1758, Pigage took over the design of the new expansions. In 1768, Pigage attended the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, and in the 1770s, as preparation for the design and implementation of the jardin anglais, both Pigage and Sckell were sent to England and France. The conception and implementation of the resulting expansions are arguably filtered through these multiple levels/sources of stylistic training and interpretation.

[245] Guidebooks include: Johann Michael Zeyher, *Beschreibung der Gartenanlagen zu Schwetzingen* (Mannheim, 1809); Johann Michael Zeyher*, Schwetzingen und seine Garten-Anlagen* (Mannheim: Schwann & Goetzische, 1826); *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen.; Avec huit estampes et un plan* (c. 1814 – 1816); *Souvenir du jardin de Schwezingen et Wilhelmshöhe* (Cassell, c. 1784). Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Rare Books.

as an attempt to decode or establish a set of viewing frameworks or expectations, reveals a practice of embodied viewing in this landscape. In this part of the Schwetzingen landscape, art and illusion is employed to create fictional spaces that both frame and deny the aesthetic experience of the 'natural' *jardin anglais*. This use of illusion emphasizes the limitations of the visual, requiring the visitor to rely on experience and imagination to (re)create the whole.

Combined with a thorough grounding in the design of the landscape, these guidebooks provide the foundation for a more theoretical analysis of the experience of the *jardin anglais* at Schwetzingen. Current theoretical models will help bridge the gap between the design and these experiences and expectations. Particularly useful in this is Bernard Lassus' work on contrasts in the landscape, as a way to approach the variety of styles and objects within this part of the Schwetzingen landscape. This is especially the case with the *Perspektiv*, a trompe l'oeil fresco in the Bathhouse gardens. The predominant use of iconographic and biographical approaches to the Schwetzingen landscape have ignored the experiential qualities of the landscape. The *Perspektiv*, for instance, has been interpreted in terms of its iconography, or various precedents in trompe l'oeil landscape painting. Yet that interpretation neglects it placement in the landscape, and does not fully account for the ways in which the trompe l'oeil participates in the landscape as a whole. An in-depth discussion of the use of illusion in the landscape requires a theoretical approach to get beyond just what is depicted, to the experience of that illusion in the space.

Unlike Wimpole, the landscape at Schwetzingen includes several styles of gardening, including a formal, that is geometric core, that extends into gardens purportedly in the French, Moorish, and English style. A remnant of the early eighteenth century, the geometric topiary and hedges create a circular parterre that mimics the semi-

circular shape of the Schwetzingen palace. At its furthest edges, the Schwetzingen landscape is bordered by an irregular garden designed after the English, or *jardin anglais*, principles of style. The geometry of the garden, therefore, extends the architectural aesthetic of the palace, while the *jardin anglais* draws its aesthetic form from an idealized nature, creating a conversation between the architectural and the natural.

Maintaining these architectural forms and expanding the space to include the *jardin anglais* creates a contrast between art, or in this case architecture, and nature. In the most literal sense, this contrast does not exist in its purest form, as the land beyond the Schwetzingen gardens were fields, roads, and other productive uses of the landscape that cannot be categorized as a pure wilderness, to contrast with the purely architectural form of the palace. The contrast is brought about by the art of the garden itself, as a gradient between pure architecture and nature.

While the garden creates this contrast, it also complicates it. The gradient between art and nature present in the landscape creates a series of what Bernard Lassus calls retarded contrasts. According to Lassus, "Retarded contrast is the carrying over of one of the characteristics of an element onto the neighboring element at their mutual boundaries."[246] In Lassus' theorization, these retarded contrasts complicate the seemingly simple dichotomy between architecture and nature in the landscape garden. In his contribution to the Dumbarton Oaks 1993 publication, *The Vernacular Garden*, Lassus gives an example of this contrast in a Chateau, topiary, and the forest. The Chateau and topiary share geometric qualities, while the topiary and the trees share material. The introduction of the topiary creates a series of gradual contrasts that rely on sharing characteristics between apparent opposites. At Schwetzingen, the landscape is used to

[246] Bernard Lassus, "The Garden Landscape: A Popular Aesthetic," in Hunt, John Dixon and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, eds. *The Vernacular Garden*, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993): 145

mimic architectural forms, while the apparent nature of the *jardin anglais* is also carefully designed to create a series of contrasts between the palace and the landscape beyond the gardens. The garden itself is a form of art that masquerades as nature.

To further develop on this series of contrasts, Lassus introduces the concept of displacement;

> If we introduce a new element into our visual field, either it will find its place in the scale between the 'natural' and the 'artificial,' or it will itself become the most natural or the most artificial element. In that case, one or more of the existing elements will be *displaced*. More or less natural, more or less artificial – each individual makes his own identification, calling into question the classification of the surrounding elements on the basis of the new relationship.[247]

Using Lassus' example again, the topiary is more natural than the Chateau, but when the surrounding forest is considered its position as most natural is displaced. In a gradient that now includes unaltered trees, the topiary is pushed toward the architectural side of the art, or architecture, and nature gradient.

The successive revision of what is architectural or natural is an essential aspect of the experience at Schwetzingen. One of the key points of this series of transitions, through contrast, in the landscape is between the Bathhouse *giardino secreto* and the *jardin anglais*. The following begins with an analysis of the design and contemporary experience of these spaces, which is then augmented through the use of a theoretical framework based on the established architecture/nature dialectic and Lassus' retarded contrasts. Through this theoretical model, this chapter indicates a series of transitions between distinct aesthetic experiences, in which the visitor's experience is continually framed by the aesthetics of particular illusions in his/her encounter of the garden space.

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[247] Lassus, "The Garden Landscape," 146.

OVERVIEW

In the 1760s and 70s, Nicholas de Pigage and Friedrich Ludwig Sckell carried out massive expansions and renovations to the gardens, including a 'Nature Theater,' a Bathhouse, and a *jardin anglais* in the northern part of the landscape, nearest the so-called Rokoko-Theater in the palace. By 1777, the year Philip Yorke the 3rd visited, many of these elements were nearing completion. In an uncharacteristically descriptive passage, Yorke describes meeting the Elector Palatine Charles Theodore at his summer palace at Schwetzingen. He writes,

> [The Elector] received us with great politeness & appears in every respect a most accomplished Prince, a Protector of the Arts & of an instructive & agreabl[e] conversation… After dinner we walked in the Gardens which are extensive, & where they have endeavoured to unite the different stiles [sic] of Gardening. The Gardener is just returned from England, & the Elector talks about laying out parts in the English taste.[248]

The Gardener in this context is somewhat ambiguous, as the Elector in fact sent both the head Gardener, Fredrich Ludwig Sckell, as well as the head Architect, Nicholas de Pigage, to England for the purposes of studying the landscape gardens there.[249]

The key in Yorke's description is the recognition of those parts in the 'English style', as well as the emphasis on uniting those elements within the larger landscape. The gardens at Schwetzingen were originally designed in an architectural style under the direction of Johann Ludwig Petri, with an emphasis on geometric forms and walkways.[250] When Pigage was appointed chief architect, the landscape was expanded, maintaining the

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[248] British Library Add MS 35378 ff. 74. Letter from Philip Yorke 3rd to Philip Yorke 2nd. Dated Karlsruhe, 5 August 1777.

[249] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 400. Nicolas de Pigage was born in Lunéville, Lorraine and in 1744 began training at the Royal Academy of Architecture in Paris. In 1749 he became an Intendent of Gardens and waterworks for the Elector Carl Theodor. Pigage became the director of the Gardens at Schwetzingen in 1762, and by the 1770s the Elector nominated him as his court Architect.

[250] Troll, *Schwetzingen palace gardens,* 9. Troll indicates that the small 'bosquets' bordering the circle were conceived as 'bosquets anglais', were designed initially by Johann Ludwig Petri, Pigage's predecessor. See also, Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 400.

original core, and adding several architectural, sculptural, and landscape garden styles to create a uniquely multi-faceted landscape. As the extent of the gardens at Schwetzingen can, and has, filled entire volumes, a brief overview of the landscape will suffice to contextualize and locate the specific points of interest.[251]

The map included with the guidebook to Schwetzingen published in Paris (fig. 33) gives an excellent overview of the gardens as they existed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[252] The gardens are oriented on an approximately east to west axis, from the palace at the bottom of the page in the East, to the further edge of the landscape on the far side of the 'Grosses Bassin' to the West.[253] To the viewer's right, the page shows the 'northern' portion of the landscape including the core of the *jardin anglais* and the bathhouse, and to the left is the southern gardens that center primarily on the Mosque, indicated at R on the full map.

Nearest the palace, the gardens are laid out in geometric patterns and architectural forms. Along the curve of the palace, the gardens begin in a geometric circle that follows the shape of the palace itself. Cutting through the palace as the main point of entry is a grand avenue along the east to west axis that cuts through the center of Palace and extends to the furthest edge of the landscape. The main avenue, or allée, symmetrically

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[251] A brief list of the most recent works: Troll, *Schwetzingen palace gardens*. Andreas Pečar and Holger Zaunstöck, eds. *Politische Gartenkunst?: Landscaftsgestaltung und Herrschaftsrepräsentation des Fürsten Franz von Anhalt-Dessau in vergleichender Perspektiv: Wörlitz, Sanssouci und Schwetzingen* (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2015). Petra Martin, Jochen Martz, and Hartmut Troll, eds. *Monumente im Garten, der Garten als Monument: Internationales Symposium vom 31 März bis 2. April 2011 in Schwetzingen* (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2012). Ralf Richard Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen*. Fuchs and Reisinger, *Schloss und Garten zu Schwetzingen*. Reisinger, *Der Schlossgarten zu Schwetzingen*. Fehrle-Burger, *Die Welt der Oper in den Schlossgärten von Heidelberg und Schwetzingen*.

[252] *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen.; Avec huit estampes et un plan*. c. 1814 – 1816. The text is undated, published anonymously without note of the publisher. The copies referenced are from the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas and the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, which are exactly the same except that the Ransom Center copy is bound with several other, unrelated items.

[253] As indicated in the map, this is technically east-south-east to west-north-west, however most descriptions, including the French guidebook, adjust these to use the cardinal directions to describe the garden's layout.

divides the circular parterre, which contains broderie hedges, geometric planting designs, and hedges that mimic architectural features. All of these elements extend the architectural aesthetic of the Palace into the garden. Beyond this circle to the west are small bosquets, and further still are rectangular spaces to the left and right noted on the map legend as 'parties à la mainère français', or parts laid out in the so-called French style. The allée ends at the 'Grosses Bassin', noted in German sources as 'Der See' or the Sea; a large rectangular lake complete with fountains and sculptures of river gods.[254]

Surrounding the Bassin are irregularly shaped gardens that include winding paths, clumps and groves of trees, and naturalistically shaped ponds. These more natural features are physically cut off from the formal part of the garden by the rectangular canal that leads from the northwestern portion of the palace, at the lower right hand side of the map. The canal, while itself geometric, creates a boundary between the architectural and more natural landscapes. From the main pump in the northwest wing of the palace, the canal connects in the northern part of the gardens to a pond, before turning south to meet up with the borders of the rectangular *Bassin*, after which it empties into an irregularly shaped pond to the southwest, in the upper left hand part of the map.

To the north and south, or right and left of the map, are two distinct gardens between the formal circle and the irregular landscape. The southern garden is dominated by the 'Mosque' and its gardens. To the north is the area that most concerns this chapter, which contains the Orangerie, Nature Temple, and Bathhouse areas. This area is physically and conceptually closest to the theater, which is housed in the northern wing of the palace. This northern area also includes an extended irregular landscape in the portions furthest to the north (right), which is the core of the *jardin anglais*, the main

[254] The map reproduced here is the same, except for the language of the text, in Zeyher, *Beschreibung der Gartenanlagen zu Schwetzingen* (1809). Zeyher, *Schwetzingen und seine Garten-Anlagen* (1826). And *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen* (c. 1814 – 1816).

feature of which is a fabricated Roman Aqueduct in ruins.[255] The more natural landscape quality that begins here extends west around the Bassin, and is anchored in the southwest, in the upper left, by a similarly fabricated ruin, the Temple to Mercury, which sits just west of the irregular pond.

This irregular area, noted as an extension of the *jardin anglais,* is bordered by a ha-ha creating an apparently seemless integration with the landscape beyond. The *jardin anglais* therefore creates an effect of gradually transitioning from the architectural, or art, to the natural. 'Nature' here is fairly constructed, as it is used to refer both to the naturalistic extensions of the jardin anglais, as well as the landscape beyond the gardens, which were primarily fields, and therefore not purely untouched wilderness or explicitly natural.[256]

Guidebooks exist for the Schwetzingen palace and gardens since the late eighteenth century, though most are published as collections of various sites in present-day Germany. One of the earliest guides dedicated entirely to Schwetzingen is an 1809 German text credited to Johann Zeyher, the direct of the gardens by that date. Another guidebook was published in Paris sometime between 1814 and 1816. This guidebook, which will be referred to as the French guidebook throughout, contains the map referred to above.

In 1826, Zeyher wrote a more inclusive volume on Schwetzingen. While the previous guides were small, likely paperbound and intended to be portable, Zeyher's

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[255] *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen,* 17. In the map, only the area between the Orangerie, Bathhouse, and Roman ruins are noted as the '*jardin anglais'* though the text indicates that the English style landscape continues around the northern side of the gardens, and around the *Bassin* to the southern side surrounding the Temple of Mercury.

[256] This interpretation is loosely based on a theorization of garden spaces from John Dixon Hunt's work on 1st, 2nd, and 3rd nature. John Dixon Hunt, "The Idea of a Garden and the Three Natures," in *Greater Perfections: The Practice of Garden Theory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000): 32 – 75, 242 – 247.

1826 work published in German, with French translations added to the plates, was a more robust text.[257] While the later work includes the same map and the images are of the same points of interest as in the earlier guidebooks, the engravings are entirely distinct. Generally, the engravings included in the 1826 text emphasize a particular atmosphere and include more contextual information. See for instance, these two prints of the Temple to Botany in the *jardin anglais*.

The first, from the French guidebook, (fig. 35) shows the temple in the center of the image. The viewer faces the temple head on, the door aligned with the edges of the image. The point of view from which the image is taken allows for a full view of the structure itself so as to recognize it. In the later Zeyher text, the same site appears (fig. 36). However, in the Zeyher print, the Temple to Botany now appears to one side, along a diagonal path that leads the viewer's gaze into the distance, where the top of the ruined Roman aqueduct contextualizes the space while also implying depth.

The ultimate effect is that the lengthier text and alternative images give a fuller understanding of the landscape, and provides a substitute for experiencing the space. The earlier guides, while they can be read and understood, indicate that they were more likely for guiding a visitor through the actual space. The details of the images allow the visitor to recognize certain features and how to get from one point to another, but do not offer much visual information concerning context or effect. The French guidebook reads as both a description of a visitor's account, and by all indications it could have been used as an actual guide for future visitors to the space. As such, this text provides a useful point of departure for examining the experience of the landscape as both a particular example of a visitor's experience, as well as a guide that establishes a series of expectations, or

[257] These conclusions drawn from seeing original copies at the Rare Books library at Dumbarton Oaks, Summer 2017.

experiential frameworks, for subsequent visitors who might read the guide before, after, or while visiting the landscape.

APOLLO TEMPLE AND THE NATURE THEATER

To explore this northern portion of the garden more fully, we will follow the French guidebook briefly. The text starts with the situation of the Palace at Schwetzingen, and begins its description with the so-called 'Rokoko' Theater. According to the author, the theater was begun under Mr. de Bibiena in 1746, and finished under Pigage.[258] In the theater was "une grande fenêtre, donnant au fond de la scène sur une partie du jardin, facilite les representations les plus magnifiques."[259] As discussed by Wagner in his 2006 text on the Bathhouse at Schwetzingen, this large window may have been that which was used to illuminate scenes and scrims to create a variety of theatrical effects.[260]

In the French guidebook book, this introduction ends by noting that both "le peuple et les etrangers" are admitted to the theater and gardens gratis.[261] This indicates two things: first that the gardens were not limited to the Elector and his court. By the early nineteenth century, when the guidebook was written, the Elector's court was located in Munich, but even in 1777 strangers and foreigners, like Philip Yorke the 3rd, were frequently invited to the Palace and Gardens. Second, this indicates that the garden was integrated with the theater, in addition to various theatrical elements used in the garden. Schwetzingen's emphasis on theatricality goes beyond having an actual theater in the palace. The spatial and conceptual integration of theater and garden indicates that the

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[258] Alessandro Galli Bibiena (1687 – 1769). *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen*, 1.
[259] *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen,* 2. "a large window, with a view toward part of the garden, facilitated magnificent representations."
[260] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 274.
[261] *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen,* 2. "the people and strangers"

gardens rely on the ideological and imaginative frameworks associated with the theater as much as the theater relies on imagery and perceptions formed in the garden.

After the theater, the French guidebook directs us to the geometric parterre, and subsequently into the small *bosque* to the north west. Though the *bosque* is dominated by architectural hedges, they are designed in such a way that the paths are smaller than the main parterre, and have maze-like, and in some cases serpentine qualities. While the forms borrow from the architectural structures of the palace and parterre, the material is made to reference natural forms as well, introducing another level of contrast. Once inside, the view is restricted, and twists and turns in the pathway lead you from one point to another. The main walkway is dominated by a straight path with a serpentine rivulet, bordered by polished stones, running down the middle (fig. 37). Halfway down this path is a basin and another exit, or entrance, that connects to one of the main north-south paths that cuts between the Bassin and the main allée.

As the visitor continues to follow the serpent cascade or rivulet, s/he comes upon a monumental rockface called Pan's Grotto. A sculpture of Pan sits near the top of the artificial rockface, playing his pipes (fig. 38).[262] The French guidebook suggests that it is as if he has come here to repose after his jaunts in the wild, indicating that this is a border space.[263] While not the wild, Pan's presence indicates that these gardens are no longer just the domain of men. Such a liminal border space also indicates the departure from the architectural garden on the way to the *jardin anglais*, where nature is supposed to hold sway.

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[262] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 466. Completed 1776, during and after Pigage's trip to England.
[263] *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen,* 9.

Continuing on to the north beyond Pan's Grotto, visitors enter a fruit and vegetable garden bordered by the Orangery to the right, east toward the palace, and the Apollo temple to left.[264] The entrance to the Apollo Temple is an area Pigage calls the 'Nature Theater' (fig. 39).[265] A double staircase with a cascade flowing down the middle connects the flower garden in front of the Orangery to the Apollo Temple. Lined by hedges, the Nature Theater indicates a mixing of architectural and natural elements. The name here is particularly telling, as it was in fact used as a site for theatrical productions and fêtes in the gardens as early as 1775.[266]

In Pigage's description of the space, the grassy area closed in by architectural hedges creates an auditorium.[267] Visitors share this viewing area with several sphinxes, who all direct their gaze to the temple (fig. 40). The temple itself is a rotunda, a coffered dome set on columns that shelters a statue of the god of the Arts (fig. 41). In order to reach Apollo, the visitor must climb the stairs next to the cascade. Water from an urn held by nymphs creates the cascade that runs between the two stairways; nature in the form of water mimicking the architectural form of the stairs. Each of the stairways is designed to look as if they have been hewn from the artificial rock on which the Apollo Temple sits. Pigage described this area as the stage of the Nature Theater.[268] By climbing these stairs, the visitor exchanges his/her place in the audience to inhabit the space, and thereby

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[264] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 27. Pigage took many trips to Paris while planning and building the area around the Orangerie, to the Menagerie, through the Bathhouse, and around the ruins. Throughout the design and execution of the gardens, Pigage also two trips to England, the longest of which occurred in 1776, with Friedrich Ludwig Willhelm Sckell, son of the head gardener at Schwetzingen. There, the pair came up with further plans for the gardens and collected/purchased plants and botanical samples for the Elector.

[265] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 39.

[266] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 52 – 53.

[267] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 48.

[268] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 39.

assumes the role, of the performer. At the top of the stairs, an entrance to a cavern appears.

Inside the cavern, (fig. 42) twists and turns in the path are alternately lit and obscured, until the visitor eventually climbs up and out into the open air near the top where the god stands under a domed pavilion, looking out over the landscape. Difficult and occasionally obscured, these paths metaphorically recreate a struggle. Given that the prize is to stand atop the cavern with the god Apollo, the likely metaphor here is the struggle for inspiration in art. While not unique to Schwetzingen, such constructions that offer physically difficult or obscured paths are found at Stourhead, Studley Royal, and Bowood, to name a few examples.[269] In effect, the Nature Temple integrates artificial and natural, or architectural, that is artistic, and natural forms, leading up to the Temple of Apollo.

The naturalistic rockface, the architectural hedges, and the cascade are all apparently natural elements that provide an example of Lassus' retarded contrasts. Natural materials, like the hedges, imitate architectural forms, while the artificial material of the rock mimicks forms found in nature. At the Nature Temple, nature and art are integrated. Placed between the geometric parterre and the more naturalistic *jardin anglais*, this theater of nature creates a boundary space, a mediator between the architectural and the natural. Pan's presence, which appears on the way to the nature theater, further reinforces the liminal quality of this part of the garden, as a space set apart between art and nature.

In the guidebook, the narrator's exclamations further indicate that this feature marks a boundary between the architectural and natural gardens, and the grotto with its

[269] While not ubiquitous, this kind of garden folly was well known enough that Pigage and Sckell likely encountered a similar feature on their travels in France or England.

labyrinthine path indicates the liminality of the space. The guidebook describes the experience of walking through this cavern and emerging into the open area near the Apollo Temple, "C'est ainsi qu'on se croit soudissment transporté dans un de ces bois sacrés des Grecs."[270] The rhetoric of transumption used here distinguishes the garden space from any 'normal' experience. A sacred space, the landscape itself has a psychological effect on the viewer, transporting him/her imaginatively in time and space. That this rhetorical move is employed here argues for the transitional and transporting nature of the landscape as enacted through art. This is the point where architecture, or art more broadly in the figure of Apollo, and nature inhabit and control the space in equal measure.

BATHHOUSE AND *PERSPEKTIV*

From the Apollo Temple, the visitor can again choose to re-enter the formal garden toward the Bassin, or to continue through a rocky, winding path that leads to the Bathhouse. The Bathhouse is the main architectural feature and entryway into this small garden within the larger landscape. This secluded area was a favorite retreat of the Elector and many visitors.[271] Like those who would later write various guidebooks and descriptions of the *Schlossgarten* including the French guidebook, Yorke was most struck by this area and its various features.[272] He writes home to his uncle, "there are several Buildings in the Garden the handsomest of which is the Bath House where there are some

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[270] *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen,* 10. "Thus, one believes oneself suddenly transported into the sacred forests of the Greeks."

[271] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 275.

[272] BL Add MS 35378 f. 74. Yorke does not go in too much detail about the baths. This is consistent with this particular correspondence, with his uncle, the 2nd Earl of Hardwicke. The two of them seem primarily interested in the facts of yorke's trip, with some details about architecture and painting/drawing. That the gardens were mentioned at all here is exceptional for their correspondence.

pretty apartments & a warm & cold Bath."[273] The mention of the warm and cold Bath had a particular significance for the Yorkes, as indicative of health and comfort.[274] A fully functioning retreat, the Bathhouse also included a bedroom, and a writing room.[275] Here the Elector, or his visitor(s), could bathe, write, play music, even sleep, all in the sanctuary of the Bathhouse and garden.[276] The interior of the Bathhouse was painted with frescoes including natural elements such as vegetation trained over trellises, landscapes and grottoes. In addition, many of the fixtures also imitate natural forms such as snakes and shells, creating associative links between the interior of the architectural space with the natural elements in the garden.

The northern door of the Bathhouse shown in the background of this photograph (fig. 43) opens into a private garden dominated by a cruciform arbor. Trellises guide the view through the tunnel-like arbor along the north-south axis, creating a visual and physical link between the main entrance and exit of the Bathhouse to the south, and a grotto with an illusory prospect called the *Perspektiv* to the north. Halfway between the Bathhouse and Grotto is another arbor that runs along the east-west axis. In the central area formed by the crossing of these two paths is a fountain with sculptures of birds in,

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[273] BL Add MS 35378 ff. 74. Letter from Philip Yorke 3rd to Philip Yorke 2nd, Dated Karlsruhe 5 August 1777.

[274] The 2nd Earl was often sickly and frequently mentions bathing as part of his usual treatment regimen. The relation between Baths, and comfort and health recurs in the correspondence between Philip Yorke the 3rd and his uncle, including a letter from Rome, dated October 31, 1778. British Library Add MSS 3518, ff. 257 – 262.

[275] The Bathhouse and its surrounding area has already been the subject of a dissertation written by Ralf Richard Wagner. That doctoral thesis was edited and published in conjunction with the Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg, which owns and maintains Schwetzingen. See Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwetzingen*. This published text includes an extensive analysis of the architecture and thematic program of the Bathhouse itself. However, Wagner argues against any relation between the jardin anglais and the subject of his study. His interpretations link it thematically to the formal areas of the gardens, although he makes several very useful archival and interpretative notes on the nature of this part of the landscape.

[276] Noted as the Elector's Retreat in all materials regarding Schwetzingen from the Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten of Baden-Württemberg. Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwetzingen*, 275.

around, and above the water (fig. 44). On each of the four corners of this small square are aviaries, complementing the birds imitated in sculpture. Again, nature and art are repeating each other in patterns indicating another instance of retarded contrast. The fountain is a work of art, but shares the form of its sculptural elements with real birds. That this area also included aviaries further establishes both the formal link and the material contrast between the works of art and those of nature.

The Bathhouse, and the trellised walkways that connect it to the *Perspektiv*, were all built under Pigage's direction. The Bathhouse was begun in 1769, after Pigage returned from his second visit to Italy.[277] He continued to work on this area throughout the 1770s, and by the time of Philip Yorke's visit in 1777, a few months after Pigage's return from an extended trip to England, the entirety was nearing completion.[278]

The trellises that dominate the connected garden and area form a controlled view, both into and out of the bath area. These create a private garden within the larger landscape. Though secluded, the gardens maintain a sense of space through the picturesque effect of a prospect through the use of the illusionistic *Perspektiv*. Often called the *Ende der Welt*, End of the World, or the *Paysage Illusoire*, Illusionary Landscape, this painted fresco appears to show a large landscape extended out beyond the confines of the trellised tunnel toward the north, through an apparently ruined hole in a wall (fig. 45).

In an extensive two-volume text on Nicolas de Pigage's work at Schwetzingen and Mannheim, Wiltrud Heber gives a thoroughly detailed description of the space,

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[277] Studied at the Accademia di San Luca. Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 20.

[278] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 20. Heber refers to the visits to Italy and England, as well as several intermediary trips to Paris.

noting that it was not open to the public.[279] The painted landscape is not merely a trompe l'oeil on the back wall of the grotto. Rather, the fresco is painted on a stand-alone wall just outside of the building that contains the grotto (fig. 46). The wall is gently curved to heighten the effects of natural light that illuminate the painting. As a detached structure, the wall is larger than the grotto, allowing the painting to extend beyond the borders of the proper viewing 'frame'; the grotto opening.

The curved wall containing the painted landscape is visible through a gap in one of three rooms at the end of the north-west trellis leading from the Bathhouse, a general outline of which is visible in this detail of the Paris guidebook map (fig. 47). While the middle room is designed as a grotto, the rooms to either side include painted imitations of the trellises and birds outside, which Heber notes could represent interior or exterior elements.[280] Combined with the illusion of a grotto wall opening naturally to reveal a picturesque landscape beyond the whole creates an illusion of having only to go through that darkened grotto space to emerge into the sunlit hills beyond.[281]

The *Paysage Illusoire* depicts a large river winding through a calm landscape (fig. 48). Trees, the colors of which alternate from greenish-yellow to reddish orange, border the view in the foreground, while bluish-purple mountains or hills border the background and stop the eye from continuing on. The sky is painted in a wide range of colors, from deep blue at the top, to light blue, yellow, to pinkish purple haze where it meets the

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[279] My own experience indicated that it is still not open. Perhaps by appointment or to certain visitors, but there is a gate keeping the general public from getting any closer than the bird fountain halfway between the Bathhouse and the perspective.

[280] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 547, "Die Dekoration der Wände mit gemalten Putzplatten vermittelt den Eindruck einer gegliederten und Künstlerisch gestalteten Wand, womit der Volière-Charakter der Räume wieder aufgehoben wird. Der Wanddekor ist seinerseits ambivalent. Er kann sowohl als Innen- als auch als Außenwandverkleidung verwendet werden. Die somit im Besucher hervorgerufene Irritation ist eine größere, als wenn er sich einer alle Wände überziehenden Volière-Malerei gegenübersähe."

[281] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 547.

mountains. The tone of the piece changes depending on the angle and quality of the light falling on it, but suggests a wide-open landscape in afternoon or evening, perhaps in the early fall based on the colors of the trees. According to Wagner, the image represents a floodplain landscape along the Rhine river.[282]

The placement of the image, Heber argues, as well as the decoration and structure of the three rooms that create the grotto, follow instructions by Le Camus.[283] The openings in the middle room, both front and back, are painted to imitate the rest of the grotto, which is made of plaster and tufa.[284] Heber argues, quite correctly, that the design of space in and around these rooms combines with the image itself, combine to give a forceful illusion of a landscape beyond this 'grotto'.[285] Wagner elaborates on this, indicating that it is the entire design of the trellises, grotto, and the use of natural light to illuminate the image, that created the force of the image's illusion.[286] The placement of the wall just outside of the actual pavilion further heightened the effect, as the light could change and birds could fly between the framing device and the painted landscape.[287]

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[282] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 274.

[283] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 547. "Le Camus" refers to Nicolas Le Camus de Mezière (1721 – 1789), *La genie de l'architecture, ou l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*. Paris, 1780.

[284] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 547

[285] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 549

[286] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 275. He elaborates on this with a primary source from 1795 that he argues indicates that the whole construction was necessary to create the force of the illusion. The fact that these feelings were particularly felt by the contemporaries at the outset is evidenced by a description from the *Pocket Calendar on the Year 1795 for Nature and Garden Friends*. The unknown author says: 'The secret of deception is the skillful installation of the place. Everything works here as a whole; Already the high sectioned passage, which directs our gaze only to the single object, and allows no dispersion. At the end of the walkway is a small transparent pavilion, which narrows the viewpoint even further, and behind the pavilion a transparent grotto, of dark appearance. These two pieces are, as it were, the frame that captures the painting. Behind the grotto, at a short distance, the wall, which describes the segment of a circle, is slightly arched. The correct calculation of these distances to the incipient light is what actually accomplishes the effect of this painting. Most of the visitors to this exquisite garden party have the greatest merit on the account of the painter, but they are wrong; It is unquestionable to the one who organized the structure of the walkways [...] Natural and striking cannot easily be deceived. And this part is best suited to imitation, even in smaller gardens; Especially if you lack a real prospect. But it must be imitated as well as it is pretended.'"

[287] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 274.

Wagner rightly argues that these elements derive their effect from the design of certain mechanisms present in the theater. Using this to argue for a theatrical interpretation of the design, Wagner continues this argument by comparing the *Paysage* with the actual theater at Schwetzingen, which he notes had windows and translucent screens that could illuminate stage sets to heighten the illusion of the spectacles there.[288]

The connection between these illusions and the theater is further supported by the presence of a second fresco near the part of the palace containing the actual theater space. Accounts from Pigage and Sckell's work on the landscape indicate payments for "2 grandes pieces de peinture en fresque, l'un pour point de vue au fond del'allée [sic] du Bain, et l'autre pour point de vue de l'allée en terrasse à côté du jardin de l'Orangerie."[289] The cost of these is noted, along with a list of other paintings for the Bathhouse. While this second fresco has since disappeared, Wagner gives a cursory description of what it may have looked like and where it was placed. He notes that it was originally found at the northeastern end of the Allée terrace, near the palace theater. According to a 1931 file, the image gave the illusion of an entrance hall, and by that time had already been badly damaged by its exposure to the weather.[290]

While this fresco formed a pair with the one in the Bathhouse gardens, there is no indication it had the same effect or staging, as it is not mentioned in any of the

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288 Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 274 – 275.

289 Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 507. "2 large fresco paintings, one to create a view at the end of the Bathhouse allée, and the other as a point of view from the terrace allée next to the Orangery garden."

290 Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 271 – 272. The description given is relatively vague, despite Wagner's attempts to recover its possibilities. "Das zweite große Wandgemälde befand sich als östlicher Abschluß der Allée en Terrasse neben dem heutigen Schloßcafé. In einer Aktennotiz von 1931 findet sich folgende Beschreibung: "Am Ende des nördl. Zirkel neben dem Theater befindet sich das sog.Prospekt, das aus einem Freskogemälde bestand, welches den Eingang einer Halle darstellt so daß den von der nördl. Parterre-Allee kommenden Beschauer der Eindruck des Eingangs in eine Halle erweckt wurde. Dieses Freskogemälde ist durch die Witterungseinflüsse restlos zerstört, so daß die Wand jetzt durch den Abfall des Verputzes und durch die heraustretenden Backsteine einen äußerst schlechten Eindruck macht."

contemporary guides. The Bathhouse *Perspektiv*, however, was often remarked on for the quality and overall effect of the illusion. Returning to the French guidebook, it is only at this point in the midst of the Bathhouse gardens that the author brings our attention to the presence of both a travelling companion, and a guide who is leading them through the grounds. The presence of these figures is not noted before or after this point, indicating that this description requires an experiential point of view. The description of the space is given in a small narrative of his own experience,

> D'ici le guide nous conduit, en promettant de nous montrer une belle perspective, à un lieu obscur. L'illusion est d'autant plus forte, s'il sait choisir la juste distance pour notre coup-d'oeil… En le suivant nous approchons de plus en plus de l'ouverture du rocher, et bientôt nous ne sommes séparés de la scène illusoire que par un fossé à eau découlante. En discernant alors de près le paysage appliqué au mur enclun du côté opposé, nous avons aperçevons de l'illusion dont nous fûmes la dupe jusqu'alors. Truckenmuller simple maitre-blanchisseur de Mannheim la peint très naturellement d'après le dessin de Kobell.[291]

Though the French guidebook credits Truckenmuller with the *Perspektiv* painting, the attribution remains doubtful.[292] Another possibility is that it was done by Ferdinand Kobell (1740 – 1799), a court painter to the Elector.[293] He is credited with the landscapes inside the Bathhouse during the same time as the *Perspektiv*'s construction and decoration. While this is not conclusive, Fritz Novotny's work in *Painting and Sculpture*

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[291] *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen,* 13. "From here our guide conducted us to a shadowed place, promising to show us a beautiful perspective. The illusion is stronger if one known just the right spot for the view…Following him we approached the opening in the rock, and soon we were only separated from the illusory scene by a ditch with running water. Discerning from this close spot the paint on the wall opposite us, we perceived the illusions into which we had just been drawn. Truckenmuller, a simple laborer from Mannheim, painted it after the design by Robell."

[292] *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen,* 13. This likely draws from Zeyher's earlier guide, which indicates exactly that, but again there is doubt on the attribution. Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 274. Wagner likewise indicates that it was likely done according to a drawing by Kobell, but identity of the painter that executed the wall is still inconclusive. He notes a 'Hofmahler Hubert Wilwert'.

[293] Furthermore, Kobell's son, Wilhelm Kobell (1766 – 1855) was also an artist, and had a particular interest in the rendering of light. He also painted "huge, panoramic landscapes". Fritz Novotny, "Landscape Painting during the Classical Revival" *Painting and Sculpture in Europe 1780 - 1880* (Yale University press, 1992): 80.

in Europe 1780 – 1880) notes Kobell's extraordinary depiction of light, which is consistent with the *Paysage Illusoire*.[294]

In Wagner's analysis, the painting's title, occasionally noted as "Ende der Welt," refers to an overall program throughout the garden that emphasizes an idealistic future.[295] Whether this idyllic setting shows any kind of future is debatable. Yet the scene indicates at the very least a moment outside of 'real' time, where an ideal, pure wilderness opens to the visitor's view. References to Arcadia or Eden would be apropos here, but given the profusion of retarded contrasts throughout the garden, creating a series of gradients between the architectural and the natural, the clearest indication here is that of a pure wilderness. As noted above, this pure state of nature does not exist outside the art of the garden. The *Paysage Illusoire* materially embodies both the art by which this contrast is created as well as its inherent paradox.

Paysage is an appropriately ambiguous term for this scene, as in French it denotes both a landscape, as well as a landscape painting. Here, that tension is employed to maximum effect. The purest wilderness, nature in its most absolute form, is achieved within a highly illusory, and materially architectural, form. The French guidebook's description marks the process of the illusionary effect; from being taken as an actual 'paysage' or landscape, to recognizing the artifice of the illusion in the landscape painting. The mention of the artist at the end of the passage brings the pleasure of the moment of discovery back into a discussion of its merits as a work of art.

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[294] Novotny, "Landscape Painting during the Classical Revival," 79.

[295] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen*. Wagner's interpretation of the entire Shcwetzingen landscape emphasizes the principle of Toleranz, where the Elector is attempting to provide a manifestation of an idealized world. He also describes the image of the *Perspektiv* as "This is the new English landscape garden, which has its idols in the landscape paintings of a Claude Lorrain. This principle of natural lighting is based on experiences of the imagination in the theater." (274). He also notes that the architectural sources for the Bathhouse are likely from Palladio, as filtered through England.

The *Perspektiv* is a sophisticated trompe l'oeil, but it is based on a well-known garden feature that was often used to elongate the view of a necessarily shortened or unideal landscape.[296] Wagner posits the possible influence of other trompe l'oeil works on Pigage, particularly that of Luneville in Lorrain.[297] The grottos there provide an illusion of a landscape beyond, where in fact the castle curtails any possible prospect. Yet this is not the case with the area north of the *Perspektiv* at Schwetzingen. The area beyond the landscape is primarily farm land and the town itself, but at the current border of the garden, directly aligned with the *Perspectiv*, is the Temple to Botany, a water feature, and a fabricated ruin in the form of a Roman Aqueduct.

THE JARDIN ANGLAIS AND THE RUINED AQUEDUCT

This area north of the *Perspektiv* was also designed by Nicolas de Pigage, and is dominated by the ruin of a Roman Aqueduct complete with a cascade that feeds a small lake. Its surroundings and the approach toward the ruin from the Palace and/or Orangery, are all part of the *jardin anglais* portion of the landscape. The so-called English Garden continues west of the Temple to Botany, around the Bassin, and is anchored to the Southwest of the landscape by another fabricated ruin; the Mercury Temple.[298]

Pigage began laying out this portion of the gardens after his trip to Paris and England with one of the principal gardeners, Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell.[299] The Elector was keen to note the lengths to which he went to recreate the 'English' style, as Yorke

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[296] Similar features appear as early as Renaissance-era gardens in various forms. Evelyn notes them in his work on gardens in Italy. Daguerre would go on to do something very similar in his own garden at Bry-sur-Marne. See Chapter 4.
[297] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 277.
[298] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 470. This includes a 'Chinese bridge'. "'Le grand jardin anglois' (damit ist das Gebiet nördlich vom Abschluss Bassin und westlich vom Apollotempel gemeint)"
[299] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 28.

notes in his letters.[300] The landscape itself features serpentine paths and trees planted in clumps and groves consistent with the prescribed English landscape style.

At the northern most point of the jardin anglais, west of the Palace, is the ruined Roman Aqueduct (fig. 49). Constructed with rusticated stone work, the main tower of the ruin sits to the northwest of an arcade that curves to frame an obelisk (fig. 50). This fabricated ruin is not just an eye-catcher, as one can enter the artificial ruin through a door to the right, below a low-relief sculpture (fig. 51).[301] Inside the structure, stairs lead up and around the northern façade of the ruin, the side that faces away from the gardens, to the top. From this point, the French guidebook author claims to be able to see Mannheim, Heidelberg, and the Rhine, as well as much of the northern portion of the garden from this point.[302] While this is likely an exaggeration on the part of the author, the implication of an all-encompassing view is clear.

A small cascade runs through the center of the ruined tower, crossing the entryway and spilling out from an arched opening (fig. 52). Water from the ruins flows into a small basin and from there is directed into a serpentine 'river' that flows to the East, towards the Organerie. The fullest view of the ruin is from the other side of this basin, where the cascade is visible and the ruin is partially reflected in the water. As a 'ruined aqueduct', the water cascade is logical in an associative sense, though even in 1814 the author notes, "Ce n'est pas proprement un aqueduc qui soit de quelque utilité,

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[300] British Library, Add MS 35378, f. 74.

[301] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 470. Three reliefs were purchased for the ruin in 1779 from van den Branden.

[302] *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen,* 16. On my own visit to Schwetzingen in 2015, the view from the tower was impressive, but hardly reached the limits of the landscape, let alone allowed any view of Mannheim, Heidelberg, and the Rhine. The possibility of seeing the actual Rhine, when considered with Wagner's interpretation of the Perspektiv as an ideal view of th same subject, again indicates a moment of near and far, like Lassus's Tour de Magne. This is further enforced by the actual water of the cascade near to the visitor in both the Aqueduct and the Perspektiv (the small ditch with running water and the fountain).

mais il représente les ruines d'un acqueduc romain."[303] The ruins are not properly useful, in that they are ruined, and the artifice is made clear in the distinction the author makes when he notes that they 'represent' the ruins of a roman aqueduct. The strangeness of the aqueduct's form may indicate that it is more a composite of various garden features Pigage and Sckell saw while on their travels.

Thought the Roman Aqueduct and the Temple to Botany were built c. 1779, the *jardin anglais* was conceived earlier, and the first plantings put in place beginning in 1770.[304] This indicates that, although they were implemented in stages, the gardens in the northern portion of the landscape were designed as a whole, giving greater import to the transitions between them than scholars have previously acknowledged.

VIEWING THE LANDSCAPE: THE *PERSPEKTIV* AND THE RUINED AQUEDUCT

These two areas, the Bathhouse and the *jardin anglais*, are physically cut off from one another by the main canal that runs throughout the gardens.[305] Yet were it not for the *Perspektiv*, they would be visually connected. In the map included with the French guidebook, the *Perspektiv* is shown to the north/northeast of the bath house and temple of Apollo (fig. 53). Following the alignment indicated by the path from the Bathhouse formed by the trellises would lead straight to the area occupied by the Temple to Botany and the Ruined Aqueduct, through the very spot that is most ideal for viewing the ruin.

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[303] *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen,* 15. "It is not a properly useful aqueduct, but it represents the ruins of a roman aqueduct."

[304] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicholas de Pigage,* 22.

[305] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 505. Pigage writes on 16.5.1775 "Les eaux de décharge de la Cascade fournissent à deux fontaines de voisinage, une à la fontaine du mascaron, l'autre à celle du rocher en grotte à la gauche du temple d'Apollon et en face du Pavillon des Bains, comme ces mêmes eaux de décharge peuvent encore fournir à une 3me place,".

Trompe l'oeil devices are a well-known feature in a variety of gardens even well before the completion of the one at Schwetzingen.[306] Those illusions, however, always serve to elongate a space, to create an ideal prospect where none exists. In other words, those painted illusions were used as a substitute where the actual garden could not be extended any further. One explanation of Schwetzingen, then, has been to point to the small difference in the dates of execution between the Bathhouse (1769) and the completion of the *jardin anglais* (1778/9) as an indication that the *Perspektiv* provides that same traditional elongation before the actual garden could be extended.[307] Yet, while the Bathhouse area came first, the *jardin anglais*, along with the roman ruins, were designed and executed just as the Bathhouse area was being finished. The time between the dates of each were particularly busy for Pigage, during which he travelled extensively in order to gather designs, and for Sckell to gather plants, for the planned *jardin anglais*.[308] Those travels and the time necessary to execute the plans easily account for the the small gap in time between the two gardens. Furthermore, the hydraulic machine's placement north of the Ruined Aqueduct, and the flow of the water from there through the bathouse area indicates that the *Perspektiv* was not merely a device to cover an unsightly landscape or property that was not planned as part of the landscape.[309]

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[306] Present in Renaissance Vilas, as described by John Evelyn in his Elysium Britannicum. See Therese O'Malley and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, eds. John Evelyn's "Elysium Britannicum" and European Gardening (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998).

[307] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 10. Wagner's insists that the two are separate entities and should not be considered together. He cites the difference in years, stylistic differences tied to the various trips taken by Pigage and Sckell, and implies that the visual obstruction sets these two spaces apart. Guides to Schwetzingen, however, always tour these parts, and usually in close proximity to one another. Furthermore, the assertion that they were designed separately is not supported by certain elements of the design itself or the archival evidence presented in Wagner, or further texts.

[308] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 28.

[309] *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen,* 26. The French guidebook indicates that most of the water for this area comes from the lesser of two hydraulic machines in the garden (the larger being near the palace and controls the fountains). This pump is behind the aqueduct and provides the water for the cascade in the artificial ruin. From there, the water flows into the Apollo Temple and the neighboring 'rocher' (near Pan), the bird fountain, and the grotto of the *Perspektiv*.

The *Perspektiv* is not merely a vestige of a time before the Ruins were built. Both the ruins and the Bathhouse area were designed and executed by Nicolas de Pigage, and the integrated flow of the water canals further indicates that the ruins and the Bathhouse areas were designed together. Acknowledging that these parts of the garden were designed as a whole, Heber proposes an alternative interpretation, arguing that the *Perspektiv*, or *Panoramawand*, allows for an extension of the Bathhouse garden space while maintaining the privacy of the Elector, or whoever might be visiting or staying in the Bathhouse.[310]

In this interpretation, the view in to the area is blocked, while the view from within is artificially extended. The visually confined nature of the Bathhouse gardens makes practical sense as a retreat from the rest of the area. Yet the area is already physically separated by the canal that runs around the *Perspektiv* grotto. The restricted nature of the Bathhouse is architecturally evident, with gated entry points and limited views in or out of the space. Yet at the French guidebook demonstrates, these spaces were not restricted for long, especially once the Elector moved his court to Munich in 1777.[311]

While I agree that the *Perspektiv* is an excellent solution to such a dilemma of maintaining both privacy and prospect, the choice of the painted wall, an illusory landscape, requires further interpretation. Why a landscape? When combined with the area beyond, we have in effect a picture that obscures what might be called in the period a 'picturesque' landscape, an image of an idyllic, idealized nature. It does not substitute for it, as the *jardin anglais* was put in to place shortly thereafter. The physical garden

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[310] Heber, *Die Arbeiten des Nicolas de Pigage,* 530. The Bathhouse was the only building in this area that was habitable.

[311] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 52 – 53. Wagner cites several sources that describe this area, indicating that even shortly after its completion the space was open to visitors in some capacity.

extends beyond the wall, into a *jardin anglais* complete with an artificial ruin, a cascade, and a series of canals. In order to physically and visually access this actual garden space, a visitor must relinquish the picturesque landscape depicted in the *Perspektiv*. The picture must be denied, revoked, and turned back on, in order to attain the 'real' picturesque view.

The crux here is the presence of both a seemingly natural landscape, and an illusion of an idealized view of nature. It is not an illusion *instead* of an idealized landscape, rather it creates a little world inside the garden. Each of these garden areas are a world unto themselves, and for most of them there is an illusory element that creates the sense of having been transported, or having found oneself wandered into, another part of the world.[312] The design of the space aside, this also creates a complex experience of the landscape as a whole.

Wagner notes that Hartmann insists on the *Perspektiv* grotto as drawn from English sources like the grotto at Stourhead, which frames a particular view of the landscape.[313] As Wagner correctly points out, this comparison neglects the fact of the painting itself, which he then goes on to support his argument for Luneville as a more appropriate precedent. While each of these theories has its merits, the distinction of this particular part of the landscape is that it insists on both. It is both an elongation of a landscape that is not there, the creation of a pure nature or wilderness, as well as a grotto that frames one idealized view of nature while obstructing the view into another kind of idealized nature.

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[312] Troll, Hartmut. *Schwetzingen palace gardens*, 60 – 63. Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell, who was Pigage's assistant and eventual successor, justified the various juxtapositions, such as the view of the Mosque from the 'English' Mercury. Sckell argued that the garden's design was to evoke different countries and scenes, creating picturesque tableaus of various places. This, the text argues, shows the influence of gardens like Kew on Sckell and Pigage during their visit to England.

[313] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen*, 277.

NATURE AND ART

The French guidebook starts with the Theater, framing the whole garden with this initial experience. Wagner's interpretation connects the Apollo Temple, Nature Theater, and the *Perspketiv* through an analysis of design, pointing out that each of these areas of the garden were explicitly designed based on theatrical models.[314] That approach, however, does not account for the reception of those theatrical illusions as part of the visitor's experience of the space. Encountering the *Perspektiv*, the author of the French guidebook indicates the necessity of an experiential point of view by indicating the presence of a companion and a guide. The guide leads the visitor to the illusion with promises of a beautiful view. Entranced and taken in by the illusion, they try to approach, to penetrate or enter the space they see. By allowing the illusion to take hold, the visitor is drawn in to a space where the illusion reveals itself through proximity. The pictorial illusion is heightened by the spatial illusions of the tunnel, the grotto, and the lighting effects used to best advantage on a curved wall. These visitors are 'duped' by the illusion, it has taken them in and controlled their reactions by drawing them in for a closer look, but the ultimate effect is the breaking of the illusion. This realization likely happens gradually, but in the guidebook it is indicated as being a rupture that occurs when next to the 'grotto' opening, where the painted illusion reveals its true nature.

The pleasure of this experience is both in being taken in, allowing the space to inform the movements of the body, as well as the rupture of the illusion, the discovery of the fake. Discovering the nature of the illusion leads to a discussion of its qualities as a painting, as indicated by the description in the French guidebook that goes on to discuss its possible authorship. The pleasure of the illusion is a result of this process of

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[314] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen*, 275.

absorption and then rupture in discovering the artifice, which allows for an appreciation of the aesthetic qualities of the work.

Once the illusion is discovered, there is a further need to explore, to find the 'real' vista that is denied in the *Perspektiv*. In effect, despite being a trompe l'oeil painting, the *Perspektiv* reverses the 'image as window' trope. The position of the painting interrupts the physical and visual mastery of the visitor by blocking her or his view and path to the rest of the landscape. The wall provides viewers the illusion of a moment of absolute nature, but contained in an element that is absolute art. Its illusion offers, for a moment, that opposite which it then denies in its material construction.

By depicting an idealized scene of pure nature, the *Perspektiv* wall functions as a culmination of a series of retarded contrasts, where absolute nature is offered through absolute architectural form. From this point of absolute nature in absolute art, the visitor then encounters the other artist-designed image of nature: the English garden. The *jardin anglais* is the realization of a visitor's expectation of an ideal nature. The illusory completion of the binary opposition set up by the garden itself: architectural and natural.

FRAMING AN AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE

In his letter, Philip Yorke the 3rd says that at Schwetzingen they are endeavoring to unite the different styles, indicating that the experience relies on the transition between spaces, though they are distinct. The transitional quality invoked in the Nature Theater repeats itself in a multiplicity of aesthetic experiences throughout the Schwetzingen landscape. As an experience, the *Perspektiv* deceives the visitor, and also establishes a set of aesthetic expectations by offering a view of a pure, natural landscape created through a work of art.

Yet this variety of aesthetic experiences cannot be achieved simultaneously. In order to experience the whole space, the visitor must move through the landscape, taking in each part in turn. In order to fully grasp the whole of the Schwetzingen landscape, particularly the connection between the Bathouse and the *jardin anglais*, a visitor must immerse him/herself in the gardens. By doing so, however, the viewer's experience is deliberately and necessarily fragmented by the placement of the *Perspektiv* wall. Like the author of the French guidebook, we are drawn in to contemplate a beautiful view, only to find that the actual view is denied to us. This creates an experience of the landscape that continually defers the visitor's satisfaction in contemplating the whole, emphasizing the fragmentary experience of embodied viewing.[315]

Despite having a fabricated ruin in the landscape, the usual eye-catcher trope, so commonly cited as the design intention behind the fabricated ruin, is firmly rejected at Schwetzingen. Because of the placement of the *Perspketiv*, distance cannot be maintained if the program is to be fully experienced and understood. But by participating, the visitor sacrifices the 'whole view' in favor of the fragmented, the general for the particular. Imagination then necessarily plays a key role, especially in the function of sense perception and memory, to re-create the whole from the visually fragmented experience.[316] The emphasis on illusion and artifice at Schweztingen requires, through its very experience, the activation of the imagination, and physical participation in the space. Like the cavern in the Nature Theater, movement forward in the landscape obscures the

[315] Theorizing this space was greatly assisted by considering the recent designs of Bernard Lassus, and the scholarly writings on his work. Particularly: Lassus, "Games of Displacement," *The Landscape Approach*, 26 – 27. Lassus, "The Garden Landscape." And Stephen Bann, "Sensing the Stones: Bernard Lassus and Landscape Design" in *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion* ed. Conan, 61. Referring to Lassus' emphasis on the experience of motion "The experience of motion is linked to the progressive recognition and negotiation of obstacles: obstacles in that the eye is denied its regime of mastery and the body must incorporate calculations as to the precise chances of balance or imbalance involved in each step."

[316] This is the productive, active imagination as theorized during the eighteenth century and discussed in the Dissertation Introduction.

view as the visitor must turn away from the Persepktiv to exit that part of the gardens. The use of the fabricated ruins to anchor the edges of the *jardin anglais* further emphasize this reliance on the implication and rejection of authenticity, the tantalizing fiction that draws us in, and then denies our desire to know the space.

By emphasizing movement through the garden and embodied viewing, the garden at Schwetzingen draws on an aesthetic similar to that discussed in garden literature of the period, particularly Hirschfeld's *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (1779 – 1785).[317] While it is uncertain whether Hirschfeld's ideas were known to Pigage or Sckell at that time, Linda Parshall does indicate that Sckell's work on the *Englischer Garten* in Munich in 1789 relies explicitly on *Theorie der Gartenkunst*. Wagner also notes a possible connection between Hirschfeld's ideas and the landscape at Schwetzingen.[318] Whether Hirschfeld's work had any direct impact on the design at Schwetzingen, a visitor's experience of the space could, and likely did, take those concepts into account.[319]

Writing in the late eighteenth century, Hirschfeld's work draws on several notable English treatises on landscape gardens.[320] Parshall, insists that in Hirschfeld's *Theorie* "gardens as works of art should call upon the visitor's imagination to produce a sense of its dramatic unity."[321] The role of the imagination is crucial to the experience.

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317 Linda Parshall, "Introduction," in Christian Cajus Lorenz Hirschfeld, *Theory of Garden Art*, ed. and trans. by Linda B. Parshall, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001): 1 – 52. The original treatise was published in five volumes, 1779 – 1785.

318 Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwtzingen,* 275. "For Pigage, the quality of the perspective was not primarily the perfection of the imitation of nature but the perfection of its effect on the senses of the beholder. Hirschfeld writes: 'The objects of the beautiful nature are spread out before man, the tools of his senses are harmoniously formed, their impressions are set, the imagination is set in motion by a further propagation of them, and by the appearance of pleasant images the sensation'."

319 Parshall, "Introduction," in Hirschfeld, Christian Cajus Lorenz. *Theory of Garden Art*, 5.

320 Linda Parshall, "Motion and Emotion in CCL Hirschfeld's *Theory of Garden Art*," in *Gardens and Imagination*, ed. Conan, 45. Parshall includes a note indicating that Hirschfeld's work notes debts to Joseph Addison, William Chambers, Joseph Heely, Thomas Whately, Henry Home, and Horace Walpole. The only German intellectual he notes is Sulzer. Unacknowledged, but substantiated by Parshall, are the influences of several German theorists, such as Lessing.

321 Conan, ed. *Gardens and Imagination,* 14. This is Conan's summary of Parshall's argument.

Imagination is required in order to reconstruct the whole experience of the landscape, as well as to fully embrace the entirely of the landscape.

Motion is key in Hirschfeld's work, and is the basis of gardens' primacy over the other arts according to Parshall.[322] In this, *Theorie der Gartenkunst* evokes some similarities with Lessing's argument regarding simultaneity and succession. Hirschfeld knew Lessing, and the rhetorical trope of the *paragone* was familiar, even including gardening as an art as early as the seventeenth century.[323] What sets Hirschfeld's work apart at the time is that he gives gardening primacy over the other arts for the very reason it was denied in the seventeenth century: the ephemeral experience of the landscape. To this, he adds the necessity of motion through the landscape, which requires imagination to piece together in the mind. The garden becomes, in Hirschfeld's estimation, the place where all the arts are perfected and unified with nature.[324] This integration is particularly evident in the Nature Theater, where nature is encountered in theatrical terms and forms.

The theatre, then, creates a framework for the visitor's expectations of the landscape. Illusions, narrative, and the reciprocal nature of the performer and audience are expected in the experience of the landscape. The theatrical framework of the French guidebook sets up an expectation through which the space is experienced in the text. Spectacle, illusion, and staging are expected and enjoyed. In the actual space, the *jardin anglais* is approached through a similar frame, through theatrical and spectacular illusions that entice, deceive, and eventually reveal their natures to the visitor. Obstacles

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[322] Parshall, "Introduction," in Hirschfeld, Christian Cajus Lorenz. *Theory of Garden Art*, 13.

[323] Parshall, "Introduction," Hirschfeld, *Theory of Garden Art*, 2, 18 – 19. Parshall notes in particular La Fontaine's "Le Songe de Vaux," where the personification of the Le Nôtre style of landscape lost the contest because of its ephemeral qualities. "La Fontaine's Hortésie is disparaged for the very same qualities that Hirschfeld would later extol: her mutability, her sympathetic adaption to different seasons, her ineffable delights." (19).

[324] Parshall, "Introduction," Hirschfeld, *Theory of Garden Art*, 18 – 19. Parshall summarizes this well in the introduction, where she notes the comparison with seventeenth century *paragone*.

and illusions require that the visitor navigate the space by inhabiting the full spectrum of theatrical possibilities. They perform reciprocal roles as spectator and actor, recipient and creator of meaning. In order to discover the space, the visitor must inhabit each part of the theatrical process, alternating between roles as viewer, or audience, and performer.

In the nature theater, we begin in the position of the audience with the Sphinxes. To continue, we climb up into the 'stage' occupied by the cascade and nymphs, and spatially take the place of the performer. The movement from auditorium to stage requires involving oneself in the space, becoming part of the story and acting it out through movement. Through this acting, we are allowed on to the stage of the Nature Theater, and eventually up to the space of Apollo himself. What occurs here in more condensed fashion repeats itself as a predominant pattern through the landscape, of retarded contrast between architecture/art and nature that is achieved through illusion and theatricality. As noted earlier, Wagner also argues that there is a thematic repetition that plays out through the iconographic and programmatic elements.[325] His interpretation of the ideals of tolerance may form part of the script, yet the iconographic focus of the work does not fully account for the subtleties of the experience, the very thing Hirschfeld urges in the citation he uses in his own interpretation. That Hirschfeld is brought in to play in Wagner's text particularly in regards to the *Perspektiv* is especially telling. Despite being a picture, the experience of the *Perspektiv* is difficult grasp in reproduction, and even in the guidebooks must be rendered in prose that emphasizes the embodied experience of the narrator.

Sckell's familiarity with Hirschfeld may postdate, or be concurrent with the design of the *jardin anglais* at Schwetzingen, and therefore may not be as essential to

[325] Wagner, *In seinem Paradiese Schwetzingen,* 55.

understanding the design. However, the German garden theorist's work was well known and oft repeated in both French and German sources after its publication and would have certainly framed the responses to the site thereafter.[326] In this regard, Hirschfeld's emphasis on the experience, the use of movement to know a garden space, is essential to the reception of the site.

Moving through the space of the Bathhouse implies a subtler transition than the overtly theatrical motions of the Nature Theater. In the *Perspektiv*, the use of theatrical effects to heighten the illusion elongates the imagined view within the private gardens, while denying the viewer's physical ability to see beyond the space. The way forward is to relinquish the pictorial, to return to the theater physically and conceptually and from there enter the 'natural' garden space. In order to go 'backstage', that is, behind the scenery (this is literal as well as figurative, as Wagner points out the extent to which Pigage may have relied on stage set design for the mechanics of the *perspektiv*) the visitor returns to the theater. Returning to the actual theater reinforces that theatrical framework, as well as the architecture/nature contrast evident in entering the most natural part of the landscape.

Within the *jardin anglais,* nature appears to hold sway, even over the architectural works as they are in ruins (Roman Aqueduct) or are temples to the natural world itself (Temple to Botany). The familiar ruin trope points to the power of nature over art in the end, as well as indicating history, memory, time and transience. Yet the Aqueduct, like the *Paysage Illusoire*, reveals its artifice on further inspection. The fragments of various architectural precedents combine to form an almost-aqueduct, the curiousness of which is remarked on in the French guidebook. From this vantage point, the French guidebook

[326] Parshall, "Introduction," Hirschfeld, *Theory of Garden Art*, 38 – 42. Parshall notes that his one volume, and eventually the full five volume, versions were very well received generally, in some cases used verbatim in other works without credit.

claims to be able to see the majority of the gardens, and even such faraway sights as the Rhine, also depicted in the *Perspektiv*, as well as Mannheim and Heidelberg.

A panoramic feature like the Roman Aqueduct offers the possibility of an all-encompassing view. This expectation is revealed in the exaggerated tones of the French guidebook. What cannot be seen, however, is the *Perspektiv*. Its position, as well as the plantings and architectural structures, create a space that is almost completely obscured from the view (fig. 54). While the viewing platform on the Roman Aqueduct teases the visitor with the possibility of seeing, comprehending the whole through sight, the design of the landscape, and the *Perspektiv* in particular, denies visual mastery.

In the elector's private garden, the restricted nature of the space both privileges and restricts the view, requiring movement on the part of the visitor to experience the whole. Moving through the space, the experience is fragmented into a series of views, sites, sensory and emotional effects, which require imagination to piece together a sense of the entire space. The nature of the fragmentary experience emphasizes the limits of embodied viewing, and focuses the visitor's attention on the ephemeral nature of human experience echoed by the transience of the garden itself.[327]

The *Perspektiv* prepares the visitor for the aesthetic experience that culminates in the English Garden. The achievement of a pure nature in the *jardin anglais* is explicitly crafted in harmony with art. That such an illusion is used to prime the view of nature fully realizes the integration of pure nature and pure art. The trompe l'oeil become more than mere 'trompe,' or 'trick', creating an ideal space that is realized in the *jardin anglais*. There, however, the illusion is still present. The retarded contrast continues,

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[327] Parshall, "Introduction," Hirschfeld, *Theory of Garden Art*, 15. Regarding the theory that nature responds to and heightens emotion "For Hirschfeld the distinction between subject and object seems to evaporate in this reciprocal mirroring of emotion to the point that it becomes impossible to locate the origins of the experience of nature."

sharing with the *Perspektiv* a vision of an idealized nature, while the *jardin anglais* shares with the *Perspektiv* an architectural and theatrical form in the inclusion of the ruin. The illusion of the *paysage* prepares the visitor for the aesthetic experience of the *jardin anglais*; the expectation of a natural space.

As the visitor moves through the garden, the two-dimensional illusion of the *Perspektiv* gives way to the three-dimensional illusion of the *jardin anglais*. Each is a distinct form of spatial as well as temporal illusion. The illusion of the *Perspektiv* is primarily spatial; it implies that there is a space beyond the grotto that is an ideal nature, in contrast with the architectural quality of the palace. Additionally, the space implied in the *Perspektiv* appears to be outside of historical time, but is also intimately tied in to natural cycles; the seasons, indicated in the changing colors of the trees, and daylight in the actual play of light on the surface of the painting that enhances its illusion. These natural cycles play out here in the realm of illusion, while in the realm of nature, the *jardin anglais*, the presence of the Roman Aqueduct insists on architectural and human-centered time in allusion to history.

In the *jardin anglais*, the illusion is primarily temporal. By including a fabricated ruin, one that draws from a historical type, the Roman Aqueduct, implies a history both to the landscape and the feature itself that is an illusion. The fictional time of the painting contrasts with the real time of the garden, while the fabricated ruin implies another temporal illusion in its indication of history. The painting is a two-dimensional experience that includes a moment in time, while the garden is three-dimensional, a space that implicitly involves actual time, and the stimulation of senses. These two distinct aesthetic experiences are framed by and experienced through the expectations set up by the theatrical, the illusionary, in its boundary state in the Nature Theater.

Like the Gothic Tower at Wimpole, however, the fabricated Roman aqueduct presents a fictional history. By including time, the fabricated ruin points directly to the ephemeral quality of the landscape garden. Hirschfeld's emphasis on motion and the ephemerality of the garden also recalls his connection with Lessing's categorization of succession and simultaneity. Lessing's *Laocoön* argued that poetry surpassed painting because of its successive quality. That images are static while poetry was praised for its evocation of movement and time implies that the ephemeral quality of the garden is the basis of its appeal.

The palace gives way to the garden through the theater. This sets up the initial staging, wherein illusion and theatricality is the gateway to this idyllic landscape. Each step from the palace brings the visitor to a more natural feature, displacing the one before. At the *Perspektiv*, the illusion offers a vision of pure nature that is also pure illusion, the two extremes coexisting in this experience. Yet because the garden continues, the *Perspektiv*, rather than substituting for this experience, prepares the aesthetic framework for the subsequent experience of the *jardin anglais*. When the visitor finally approaches the most natural part of the garden, s/he is confronted with yet another illusion, in this case a natural, that is physically present and overgrown with actual vegetation, illusion of a purely architectural space. In this case, an architectural form that is permanently depicted in a state of surrender to the natural elements.

CONCLUSIONS: SIGHT AND EXPERIENCE

While architecture/nature contrasts abound in the Schwetzingen landscape, they can only be activated by moving through the space. Unlike Lassus' game of displacement, where the contrasting element is laid out within the homogenous field for

the viewer to take in all at once, this landscape requires an engaging viewer, or visitor.[328] The landscape space, particularly where visual mastery is denied, requires movement through the landscape, physical participation with the garden space. Because of the fragmentary viewing required by the design of the space, the retarded contrast must be experienced piece by piece, each displacing the next, creating a successive revision of the idea of nature. This series of contrasts culminates in the pairing of the *Perspektiv* and the *jardin anglais*, two distinct forms of illusion that offer an aesthetic experience of 'pure' nature.[329]

An embodied experience in the landscape insists on the multi-sensorial nature of the landscape. By denying the mastery of the eye, these garden features turn the visitor's attention to the other senses. Near the *Perspektiv*, our eyes deceive, but the cool shade of the arbor, the splashing of the fountain, the song of the birds in the aviaries, the smell of vegetation, all insist on the veracity of the experience. The multi-sensorial quality of the garden contrasts with the artificiality of the artworks, yet their shared forms maintain a continuum of retarded contrasts between them, heightening the illusion of one, and indicating the artfulness of the other.

While the *Perspektiv* is entirely visual, it also resolutely demonstrates the fallacy of sight. The discovery of the illusion prepares the viewer for the English-style garden, where the senses are engaged. In the *jardin anglais*, the embodied experience is required. While an illusion of another type, the naturalistic quality of this garden relies implicitly on sensorial and physical qualities. Weather, the growth of the vegetation, the time of day

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[328] Lassus, "Games of Displacement," *The Landscape Approach,* 26. The Game of Displacement invited viewers to place a contrasting element in a homogenized field. In that particular instance, however, the examples displayed the field and contrasting element in a single view.

[329] This is further emphasized by its pairing with the other trompe l'oeil painting that depicted an architectural scene.

or season, all affect the experience. The design further emphasizes the sensory quality of the garden; serpentine paths occlude the view, unlike the straight allée of the geometric parterre. The multi-sensory experienced is heightened by the qualities of the Roman Aqueduct itself. The rough stone, the sound of the cascade, the cooling effect of the water and shade, the smell of water and vegetation, all culminate at this feature, which also happens to offer that panoramic view. Here again, the visitor is offered a trope of visual mastery that is thwarted; you can imagine the *Perspektiv* because you have experienced it, but you cannot visually access it from this point.

The painted prospect in the *Perspektiv* offers an idyllic view of a pure nature, but its material construction as a visual, two-dimensional, illusion denies the visitor's access to this world. The *jardin anglais* offers a three-dimensional, physical experience of an idyllic nature. Yet the inclusion of the panoramic view from the ruined Roman Aqueduct in the midst of this particularly sensory portion of the landscape further underscores the inability to grasp the whole visually. That this is most explicit in the visual relationship, or obstinate rejection of a visual relationship, between the *Perspektiv* and the *jardin anglais* requires the visitor to rely on experience and imagination to create the connection between the two.

The experiential and theoretical, the experience of the landscape and the intellectual game of displacement, the successive revision of retarded contrasts, is accomplished through the medium of illusion, which initiates a process of absorption and discovery that is both artificial and affective. By their placement, the Bathhouse *Perspketiv* and the *jardin anglais* create a moment of transition between types of nature. These illusions allow for a successive experience of the natural and its relationship to the architectural, or artificial. The illusion, therefore, serves to frame the experience of the

'real', or the natural, indicating that illusion and artifice are necessary to frame the experience of the authentic.

These transitions between aesthetic experiences, however, cannot be accomplished visually; they require an embodied form of experience. Sight is not the whole experience.[330] Hirschfeld's work relied on the movement and ephemeral quality of the landscape: spatial and temporal elements that are wholly unique to the art of the garden. At Schwetzingen, the transition between the *Perspektiv* and the *jardin anglais* insist that a whole view is not the same as a whole experience. The experience of the garden requires the temporal and spatial qualities of nature, while also acknowledging the landscape as an artform. It is in the shared qualities of each, integrated into a whole in the visitor imagination, that is the ultimate art of the garden.

[330] This is another aspect that is also involved in Lassus' work. Particularly, the Nîmes-Caissargues motorway rest area. Stephen Bann, "Afterword," Lassus, *Landscape Appproach,* 189. "The authenticity of the historical object does not reside simply in its identity with itself: as a museum piece ratified by scholarly consensus and detached from the everyday milieu. On the contrary, it becomes authentic to the extent that it communicates within a wider context: it must be made accessible to the senses, and this inevitably implies that it should take its place within a continuum of sensory impressions for which the designer assumes responsibility. This process of development can often take the form of what the rhetorical critic identifies as metonymy: a process of displacement and substitution is employed to stress the presence of the real, which cannot be evoked directly. In the case of Nîmes-Caissargues, the whole purpose of Lassus's complex and remarkable scheme is to evoke the adjacent presence of the city, and so to make it imaginatively present. This involves not only opening up the lines of sight, to a certain extent, but also reconstructing, in a deliberately schematic form, the impressive silhouette of the Tour Magne, and even projecting a reduced model of the whole city for the new site."

Chapter 3: Re-presenting the Garden: Theatrical Tricks and Landscape Representation in Repton's Red Books

The ephemeral and spatial nature of the garden means that images capturing it must alter the nature of the scene to fit a static, two-dimensional image. At Schwetzingen, the two-dimensional image of the *Perspektiv* was heightened by the use of natural light. Rather than just representing the landscape, that illusionary perspective created a contrast that framed the aesthetic experience of the *jardin anglais*. The illusion served to frame the aesthetic experience of nature, of the 'real' landscape. Representations of landscape, ones that do not necessarily exist in the landscape as at Schwetzingen, require translating the particular qualities of the landscape garden according to the capabilities of two-dimensional media. How does one develop a visual device that can enact some of the essential qualities of the landscape? Especially for those who designed such landscapes, the issue of how to represent or demonstrate improvements was especially important.[331] What visual display could adequately represent the ideas of a garden design to a client? Or to the public? In this constant exchange between image and garden, how did those visual devices affect the expected experience in the garden?

The ways in which visual culture engages with the English landscape garden both illuminates and prescribes the ways in which contemporaries engaged with the garden space. Unlike the architectural gardens of earlier periods, the English landscape garden was particularly dependent on its facsimile of nature and an ephemeral quality derived from the growth of the landscape and its changes over time. The visual culture of landscapes and garden design was so integral to the practice and discourse that designers

[331] Andrew M. Wild, "Capability Brown, the Aristocracy, and the Cultivation of the Eighteenth-Century British Landscaping Industry," Enterprise & Society, vol. 14, no. 2 (June 2013): 237 – 270.

and practitioners attempted to develop different ways of visually displaying their ideas and designs that captured some of this unique quality.

For those who practiced landscape design, growth and change over time was a particular issue when depicting and completing their designs. Lancelot 'Capability' Brown's works included notes and large surveys, and were always accompanied by a visit to the space with the client.[332] Brown often took years to complete a landscape, and he cultivated nearly-fully-grown plants from local nurseries to ensure that the client would see the garden design come to fruition as soon as possible.[333] These, in addition to surveys and on-site discussions, came together to create a whole conception of the design.

The rise in popularity of the English landscape garden in particular gave momentum to the development of a garden-based aesthetics, particularly the picturesque. Often misunderstood as referring to images of landscapes, the picturesque aesthetic in fact is a quality that can only belong to the design of those things that are not images.[334] Its etymology precludes any reference to imagery, which if applied would devolve into meaningless tautoulogy. A 'picture-like' picture has no real meaning. A 'picture-like' landscape garden, however, requires attention to the rules and aesthetics of pictorial representation, and thereby sets up a series of expectations for the experience in the garden.

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[332] Humphry Repton, *The Red Books for Brandsbury and Glemham Hall*. Introduction by Stephen Daniels. (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1994): ix. "By Repton's time, maps and large bird's-eye views of estates were condemned by taste-makers as presenting too ambitious and indelicate a display of landed property." Daniels' citation for this quote is, Nicholas Alfrey and Stephen Daniels, eds. *Mapping the Landscape: Essays on Art and Cartography*. (Nottingham: University Art Gallery, Castle Museum, 1990).

[333] Andrew M. Wild, "Capability Brown," 244.

[334] Michael Charlesworth, Art History Seminar, University of Texas at Austin, Spring 2012.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries efforts were made in many landscape gardens to create effects that would make a good picture. The landscape becomes a backdrop, subject to the rules of the picture frame. The proliferation of drawing guides, viewing devices, and tour guidebooks noting just the right spot to take a view indicate the pervasive influence of this aesthetic framework on the viewer's experience in the landscape, in addition to its effect on design. The most problematic aspect of this approach, especially as experienced by the turn of the century in debate between Uvedale Price (1747 – 1829), Richard Payne Knight (1750 – 1824), and Humphry Repton (1752 – 1818), is that a painting requires a singular viewpoint, whereas a garden affords an infinity of viewpoints and the ability to move through the picture to constantly change one's perspective. Additionally, the garden as a medium relies on and it subject to the changes of seasons and overall progress of time.

Unlike a landscape painting, a landscape garden requires, and in fact relies on, progression. Movement through the space, as well as temporal progression in the form of daylight, weather, the seasons, and growth. In order to address this aspect of the landscape, the following chapter will consider Repton's Red Books as both a culmination of garden-based aesthetics, while also looking at the reception of those same devices and the way in which they have framed the landscape experience in the early nineteenth century.[335]

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[335] Much work has been done on the representation of the landscape, and its mediation through a variety of viewing and drawing devices, including the Claude Glass, Camera Lucidas and Obscuras, etc. A non-exhaustive list, see: Calé and Di Bello, eds. *Illustrations, Optics and Objects in Nineteenth-Century Literary and Visual Cultures*. Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1990). Peter De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003). William H. Galperin, *The Return of the Visible in British Romanticism* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993). Robert Miles, ed. *Gothic Technologies: Visuality in the Romantic Era*, (Praxis series, Romantic Circles, http://romantic.arhu.umd.edu/praxis/gothic/). Barbara Stafford and Frances Terpak, *Devices of Wonder: From the World in a Box to Images on a Screen*.

By the late eighteenth century, Humphry Repton developed a mode of representing his landscape improvement suggestions that visually enacted some of the qualities of the landscape. In Repton's Red Books, landscape representation becomes the basis for alterations in the physical garden. Images included in the Red Books tended to be watercolor or ink and wash, with a select few that included a fragmented flap on top of the image. With the flap, these images depicted the landscape as Repton saw it during his visit(s). Once the flap is lifted, the revealed image depicts Repton's suggested improvements. While the use of landscape imagery to create landscapes is the basis of the picturesque aesthetic, Repton's images alter the representation to better demonstrate the unique qualities of the landscape by introducing a pictorial device, the overlaid image, that was likened to a theatrical spectacle. The first part of this chapter will consider the aesthetic context of Repton's work and the state of the picturesque at the turn of the century. To demonstrate the ways in which Repton's images drew from and affected change in the landscape, I will analyze the Red Book for Wimpole, created in 1801 for the 3rd Earl of Hardwicke.

Several scholars have written on Repton's work. Stephen Daniels's scholarly oeuvre includes several articles and a full monograph devoted to the landscape gardener. He has also contributed several introductory essays to reprints of Repton's red books and treatises.[336] Daniels' work provides an in-depth biographical analysis of Humphry Repton, his landscape works, and the Red Books, while also contextualizing his design and practice. Daniels' more biographical approach is complemented by André Rogger's

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(Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2001). Gillen D'Arcy Wood, *The Shock of the Real: Romanticism and Visual Culture, 1760-1860* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

[336] Including, but not limited to, Stephen Daniels. *Humpry Repton*. Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993) And, Repton, *The Red Books for Brandsbury and Glemham Hall*.

2008 analysis of Repton's Red Books.[337] Rogger's work is an in-depth material and bibliographic examination of the Repton's Red Books. The following develops on both of these by first considering a little-known Red Book, produced in 1801 for Wimpole Hall. By using the Red Book for Wimpole, this chapter follows some of the changes in that landscape, and in attitudes toward deception and fabrication more generally, since the building of the Gothic Tower as discussed in Chapter one.

After considering the design of the Red Books in relation to the physical landscape, the second part of this chapter will consider the reception of this representational trope. The ways in which Repton's Red Book images were perceived and used contributes to a perceptible shift in the role of illusion and theatricality in landscape garden design and representation. Mediating the landscape through viewing devices and representations was well established as part of the experience by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In the case of Repton's images, the garden is represented through a format that draws on, and is associated with, theatrical devices. The influence of the theatrical on Repton's work has been well documented, by Daniels in particular.[338] This chapter seeks to expand on that work, to explore what these theatrical qualities mean for the experience of the landscape through expectations and devices developed, overtly or implicitly, as part of this elusive multifaceted aesthetic known as the picturesque.[339] To this end, Repton's Red Books become both a record of a certain

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[337] André Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste: The Art of Humphry Repton's Red Books*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

[338] Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, 4.

[339] The study of gardens as sites of theatre has become more and more common, especially since John Dixon Hunt's on Vauxhall and Raneleigh. See, Hunt, "Theaters, Gardens, and Garden Theaters," in *Gardens and the Picturesque*, 49 – 74.

experience in the landscape, as well as a part of the visual and material cultural that proposes a new framework, a new way to experience the landscape.[340]

PICTURING LANDSCAPE DESIGN

By the late 18th century, the picturesque way of viewing the garden had influenced its design. Picturesque viewing and its effect on landscape design has been discussed at length in the literature, so I will only touch on a few relevant points.[341] During the eighteenth century, the picturesque was established as a third aesthetic category in contrast to the Sublime or the Beautiful.[342] Picturesque scenes involved variety, unlike the Beautiful, but were not awe-inspiring or terrifying as in the Sublime. William Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye* (1782) popularized the aesthetic, with a particular preference for scenes of variety.[343] Ruins became a particular favorite of the aesthetic, as well as peaceful country villages, both of which provided visual variety and interest. At the turn of the nineteenth century the core principles and even the viability of the picturesque were involved in a well-known controversy between Uvedale Price, Richard Payne Knight, and Humphry Repton.[344] The 'controversy' defined several of the competing aesthetic principles that had developed during the eighteenth century that were

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[340] This approach based on reception theory, but also more widely on media theory, or media archaeology, as proposed in Huhtamo and Parikka, *Media Archaeology*. Based on work in Mitchell, *Picture Theory*. And Lisa, Gitelman and Geoffrey B. Pingree, eds. *New Media, 1740 – 1915* (Cambridge, MA & London: The MIT Press, 2003). And practiced in Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion*.

[341] The picturesque is well-worn territory in garden history, including but not limited to: Hunt, *The Picturesque Garden in Europe*. Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque*. Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*. Copley and Garside, eds. *The Politics of the Picturesque*. Hussey, *The Picturesque*. Marshall, "The Problem of the Picturesque,". Balmori, "Architecture, Landscape, and the Intermediate Structure,". And, Ross, "The Picturesque: An Eighteenth-Century Debate,".

[342] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, London, 1757.

[343] Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye*.

[344] Richard Payne Knight, *The Landscape,* 1794. Uvedale Price, *Essay on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful, and, on the Use of Studying Pictures, for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape*. London, 1794. Humphry Repton, *A Letter to Uvedale Price, Esq*. 1794. Uvedale Price, *A Letter to H. Repton, Esq*. 1795.

grouped together as the 'picturesque'. The defining feature of these principles were based on visual elements and design in the landscape that would make a good view or picture.

Repton openly mocked the design of landscapes around a single viewpoint implied by this principle, as well as the inclusion of useless objects for mere visual effect. John Dixon Hunt points out that Repton was rather dismissive of those qualities advocated by Richard Payne Knight in his poem *The Landscape*, especially that "long neglected quarries, mouldering [sic] abbeys, ruined castles, and antiquated cots seems to be offered as suitable habitations for human beings."[345] The primary objection here is the uselessness of such 'picturesque' objects. Repton's solution, somewhat paradoxically, often involved renovating these structures to house laborers. While this makes these objects useful, it also participates in the aesthetic of the 'peasant-inhabited ruin' common in visual and literary works of the period.[346] Repton's objection to Knight's 'moudlering abbeys', however, centers primarily on an apparent disconnect between what a constitutes a 'picturesque' view according to painting, and the essential elements and experience of a landscape.

Repton himself succinctly states this position in *Fragments*, a compilation published in 1816 of his design theories and examples from landscapes he designed and previous Red Books. In the preface, he states that "The most beautiful scenes in Nature…cannot long be interesting, unless made habitable; therefore the whole Art of landscape gardening may properly be defined, The pleasing combination of Art and

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345 Hunt, "Sense and Sensibility in the Landscape Designs of Humphry Repton," 14.

346 Hubert Robert's (1733 – 1808) *Vue imaginaire de la Grande Galerie du Louvre en ruines* (1796), which includes images of people inhabiting the ruins. While the peasant-inhabited ruin aesthetic is certainly a possible interpretation of Repton's work, the specific case at Wimpole adds a further layer of complexity. At Wimpole there is clear evidence that Philip Yorke the 3rd has a vested interest in the small village on the Wimpole estate. Adshead, *Wimpole*, 87. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Yorke worked with Sir John Sloane to create a model farm based on examples of 'primitive architecture'. In 1814, the 3rd Earl of Hardwicke became the president of the Board of Agriculture, and his work at Wimpole "exemplify the principles and practice of the late Georgian 'high farming' movement." Adshead, *Wimpole*, 90.

Nature adapted to the use of Man."[347] Repton's emphasis in this particular critique focused on the need to unite the natural elements, through Art, to human use, habitation, and comfort.

Repton's public debate with Price and Knight centered around these key differences. The very premise of Knight's landscape ideology was based on the picturesque effect, that a landscape should resemble a landscape painting. Repton, on the other hand, was concerned primarily with human experience within and throughout the landscape, not merely looking at it from a specified viewpoint. Repton rejects useless objects included only for visual effect, and emphasizes a progressive view, an experience in place of a static viewpoint. While Price and Knight drew from imagery to create the garden, Repton used imagery to demonstrate and supplement garden design.[348] These ideas were contested and critiqued, but also found considerable favor with the larger landowning public, based on the number of clients that reportedly sought out his advice.

Humphry Repton's practice, like Brown's, included visits to the sites. Yet these were much shorter and less involved with the execution of his ideas than Brown's process. Repton's brief, sometimes singular, visits resulted in a series of notes and small sketches, rather than Brown's large surveys and discussions with the landowner(s).[349]

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[347] Humphry Repton, *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of landscape gardening. Including some Remarks on Grecian and Gothic Architecture, collected from Various Manuscripts, in the Possession of the Different Noblemen and Gentlemen, for whose use they were originally written; the Whole tending to Establish Fixed Principles in the Respective Arts*. Assisted by J. Adey Repton, F.A.S. Original published London: T. Bensley and Son, 1816. Facsimile Edited by John Dixon Hunt, (New York, London: Garland Published, Inc., 1982): viii.

[348] Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste*, 46. Concerning the debate between knight, price, and repton: "Class-conscious representatives of the rural aristocracy, Price and Knight, by endowing painting with an instructional function, were trying to uphold a restrictive idea of art appreciation at a time when the popularity of gardens and gardening was burgeoning. The professional landscape gardener Repton, however, was dependent on precisely this expansion of interest in gardens. In other words, an apparently aesthetic conflict around the category of the picturesque was really only a thin gloss over the real focus of Repton's opponents: the fact that Repton had made a business out of landscape gardening."

[349] Repton's process is evident in many of his Red Books. See also: Humphry Repton, *Observations on the theory and practice of landscape gardening: Including some remarks on Grecian and Gothic architecture,*

Repton's images, therefore, had to substitute for a prolonged presence in the landscape, where designs could be developed and explained in the space. Much of Repton's success and popularity was garnered through the manner in which he presented his ideas to his patrons.[350] Repton's landscape improvements were often compiled and presented in a bound volume, called 'Red Books' for the Red Moroccan leather used in the most luxurious commissions, and contained both handwritten text and watercolor, pen and ink wash images. Even in the early days of his career, Repton advertised himself as a landscape gardener, and listed among his services the production of "Perspective Moveable Views of the alterations he may have occasion to recommend."[351] His reputation relied on these, for good or ill, and after his death he was often associated just as much, if not more, with these Red Books and their 'deceptive tricks' than the landscape designs he implemented.[352]

The distinctive 'moveable views' consisted of a hand-colored drawing of the site with Repton's proposed 'improvements'. The improved view is partially covered by a slide containing aspects of the landscape as it existed at that point. The effect being that the image first appears as it did when Repton visited the site, and is transformed by the simple flipping over of the flap to reveal the improved landscape. Clients who received a

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collected from various manuscripts, in the possession of different noblemen and gentlemen, for whose use they were originally written; the whole tending to establish fixed principles in the respective arts. London: T. Bensley, 1803. And, Repton, *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of landscape gardening*. Daniels, *Humpry Repton*, and Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste*, also include discussions of Repton's working method

[350] Repton's success is an indication of the degree to which his designs and his advertisement through the Red Books was accepted and proliferated during the period. The tie between the Red Books and his success is often noted by scholars, including Daniels and Rogger.

[351] Humphry Repton. *H. Repton having for many years (merely as an amusement) studied the picturesque effect resulting from the art of laying out ground, has lately been advised by many respectable friends ... to enlarge his plan, and pursue professionally his skill in landscape-gardening*. (London, 1789).

[352] Richard Quaintance, "Humphry Repton, 'any Mr. Repton,' and the 'Improvement' Metonym in Mansfield Park," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture,* vol. 27 (1998): 365 – 384. Even in the 20th century, Repton, when he is recalled at all, it is in reference to these texts. For example, Tom Stoppard's *Arcadia* (1993).

Red Book found their landscape depicted both as it was and magically transformed into an improved scene. The improvements, of course, were not all realized, and in this way, Repton was depicting possibilities he imagined for the space.

Early in his career Repton spent considerable time developing his visual techniques in order to aid in the marketing of his work as a landscape gardener. According to Stephen Daniels, Repton tried his hand at several styles of sketching, drawing from sources such as the works of Gilpin, Gainsborough and others.[353] Repton himself credits "my old friend Squire [Robert] Marsham" for the first hints that led him to the employment of the overlaid image.[354] Yet, as noted by Daniels, Repton's contemporaries found the predecessor of this type of visual device in other sources. Most notable is William Mason, who wrote to William Gilpin regarding Repton's new visual mode, which Mason interpreted as a refinement of Gilpin's own contrasting of the "dull" scene before the viewer with a more picturesque vision.[355]

One of the first of such images Repton produced was in 1789 for Brandsbury, an estate owned by Lady Salusbury in Middlesex. The first image (fig. 55) shows the landscape as it was during Repton's visit. A short lawn leads up to a fence that entirely blocks the view of the landscape beyond. Three visitors are attempting to view the rest of

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353 Daniels, *Humpry Repton,* 4.

354 Humphry Repton, *Humphry Repton's Memoirs*. Edited by Ann Gore and George Carter. (Norwich: Michael Russell, 2005): 25 – 26. "In every place I was consulted I found that I was gifted with a peculiar faculty for seeing almost immediately the way in which it might be improved. I only wanted the means of making my ideas equally visible or intelligible to others. This led to my delivering reports in writing accompanied by maps and such sketches that at once showed the present and proposed portraits of the various scenes capable of improvement. For the first hint of this I was indebted to my old friend Squire Marsham and the effect produced by my invention of the slides made the sketches interesting; and this practice was ever after pursued in cases where I thought it advisable." Note 2 on p. 26: "Robert Marsham of Stratton Strawless, Norfolk' presented a paper to the royal society in 1796, known for his planting techniques and his *Nature's Calendar*, published 'in a pamphlet form as *Indications of Spring*')"

355 Daniels, "Introduction," in Repton, *The Red Books for Brandsbury and Glemham Hall*, ix. This had been a rhetorical trope for Gilpin as early as his description of Stowe in 1748. Gilpin, *A Dialogue Upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham at Stow*.

the landscape, one by peering through what may be a hole in the fence, another trying to lift himself up over the fence to see what the viewer can just barely glimpse in the tree tops. Almost comic in its rendition of the curious visitors, it is also indicative of the primacy of the visual experience of the visitor. The desire to see beyond the fence displayed in the first image is satisfied in the image of the improved landscape. In the bottom image (fig. 56), the partial overlay is gone and the improved landscape revealed. The fence has been removed and the lawn smoothed out to present a continuous view, which appears to open visually and physically to the visitor.[356]

The materiality of this overlaid image is difficult to grasp in reproduction. In these views of Brandsbury, the image requires two separate frames to display each complete view, as seen in the reproduction. Yet, materially they are one image that is altered through the use of a fragmented overlay (fig. 57). Both images exist on the page, but only one can be seen at a time. The difference here is analogous to the difference between two images on a gallery wall, and two scenes in a theatrical stage set. In the former, comparison and multiple views exist at once. In the latter, participation and movement is required on the part of the viewer and performer. In the Red Books, therefore, the reader takes the place of the performer as well as viewing by affecting change in the 'stage sets' to create the different views. Both layers of a set might be on stage at the same time, and in fact partially visible through the fragments and holes in the first layer, but only one view can be seen in its entirety at any given time. As soon as that intervening image is removed, in this case with a flip of the page or flap, the previous scene is gone and replaced by the next. It seems like such a simple device, the use of a fragmented layer of

[356] The inclusion of a fence forcefully calls to mind Horace Walpole, *The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening: Journals of Visits to Country Seats*. Edited by John Dixon Hunt, New York, London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982): 264. Walpole says William Kent 'lept the fence' and saw that all nature was a garden. Repton's work here is a practical suggestion for the site in question, but also places him within the lineage of landscape garden practice.

paper covering the complete image, and yet it allowed Repton to say so much more with the imagery than a survey or single sketch could have done.

While the image entertains, it also demonstrates, avoiding the need for lengthy explanations. Though he did not rely solely on these visual devices, he did see them as instrumental in the portrayal of his ideas, not merely as illustrations but as demonstrations. In his *Observations* of 1803, Repton writes "I must therefore entreat that the plates be considered as necessary than ornamental; they are introduced to illustrate the arguments, rather than to attract the attention. I wish to make my appeal less to the eye than to the understanding."[357] This is a nearly direct quotation of Shenstone, whose work, along with that of Burke, Mason, Gilpin, Whately, and others, Repton references throughout his published treatises and private Red Books.[358]

Shenstone's actual quote, from Unconnected thoughts on gardening, argues that "Objects should indeed be less calculated to strike the immediate eye, than the judgment or well-informed imagination; as in painting".[359] The use of Shenstone's defense of the utility of painting in landscape garden would seem to contradict Repton's argument. Yet the reference here is to the plates, not the garden itself. By placing these plates in line with Shenstone, by the echo of the lines quoted above, Repton solidifies himself as a serious and intelligent practitioner of an art form, while simultaneously implying that the images, especially those with flaps, can in many ways stand in for the landscape in their demonstration of the ideas proposed in the text. Associating his images with this quote also indicates Repton's concern that his landscape designs, and their representation, be received as works of Art, relying on imagination and judgement.

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[357] Repton, *Observations*, 6.
[358] Hunt. "Sense and Sensibility in the Landscape Designs of Humphry Repton," 5.
[359] Shenstone, *Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening*, 126.

Repton's *Observations*, as well as his other published works and often the private Red Books, include many allusions to well-known landscape theorists, including Shenstone, Burke, Mason, and Gilpin.[360] Especially in his published treatises, relying on these writers allows Repton to distance his theories from the critique of being a mere entertainer. By contextualizing his use of artifice within this poetic and philosophic tradition, Repton is placing his work within that lineage, emphasizing the intellectual and imaginative elements of his art. By highlighting the use of imagination in landscape design, and Repton is arguing that landscape gardening, and his images by association, should be considered among the high Arts.[361] This defense of his work is dependent on, rather than in spite of, the artifice or theatricality of his landscape designs and illustrations.

Though not all of his commissions resulted in the production of a Red Book, Repton claimed later in life that those volumes were the basis of his fame and success.[362] In fact, the allure of the Red Books was so great that they occasionally over-powered their original purpose; the implementation of improvements to the actual landscape. Repton notes in his memoirs, somewhat bitterly at times, that clients often consulted him and requested a Red Book without any intention of pursuing the improvements he advised. These books were seen and sought after as objects in their own right, separate from the implementation of the plans contained within.[363] The sheer popularity of the

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[360] Repton, *Observations on the theory and practice of landscape gardening*.

[361] Usually confined to Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, though even at the time this definition and strict categorization was being problematized. See explanation in Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, 7. "It was through its 'deception' that landscape gardening could be classed with 'the polite arts'".

[362] Daniels, "Introduction," in *The Red Books for Brandsbury and Glemham Hall*, viii.

[363] Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste,* 48. The fees for Repton's work and his Red Books were billed separately, and thus Rogger points out that the Red Books were considered as autonomous, whole products in and of themselves. "Despite all Repton's protestations that the only value of his Red Books lay in their improvement 'hints', in a reception context such as this, they transcended a purely functional role. They were also materially – and this is particularly true of Storer's Red Book – the principal service that Repton

books alone, separated from the landscape, indicates an evolution in the visual culture to a preference for such miniature 'shows' that could conveniently mimic and reinforce the garden experience.

One of the most alluring aspects of these Red Books was the simulation of a visitor's experience as s/he moved through the space and/or time, not merely a collection of distinct views. It is in this aspect that Repton most vehemently differed from his contemporaries, who championed the picturesque aesthetic applied to landscape design.[364] He states unequivocally that "the spot from whence the view is taken, is in a fixed state to the painter; but the gardener surveys his scenery while in motion."[365] Like the gardener, the visitor or owner moves through the garden and should be able to enjoy it from every angle, not only pre-determined viewing spots as one would move from one painting to another in a gallery.[366] This is the particular charm of the landscape garden, that it is a space to move in and through.

Of course, the irony here is that Repton's Red Book images do, in fact, rely heavily on images to demonstrate his points. They become key spots and rely implicitly on the painter's set of viewpoints. According to Stephen Daniels, "Repton altered the lie of the land in his sketches according to picturesque criteria".[367] This reference, here specifically related to the work at Brandsbury, indicates that Repton did not reject picturesque aesthetics wholesale. In point of fact, his use of the Red Book provides a

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delivered and for which he charged accordingly. In his particularly clear-cut character as a [book] collector, Storer also demonstrates why Repton's watercolours of imaginary landscapes became better known than subsequent illustrations of his designs that were actually carried out on the ground." (56)

364 Hunt, "Sense and Sensibility," 8.

365 Hunt, "Sense and Sensibility," 22.

366 Daniels, "Introduction," Repton, *The Red Books for Brandsbury and Glemham Hall*, x. "If pictures were central to Repton's work, he was keen to show the limits of too picturesque a view of estate improvement…This was something his adversaries, the connoisseurs Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price, neglected. Landscapes were to be lived in not just look at."

367 Daniels, "Introduction," Repton, The Red Books for Brandsbury and Glemham Hall, ix.

complex re-integration of the picture into the landscape design process. Quite literally he takes the land, works it over and improves it through the image, which is then, hopefully, transferred to actual working up of the land itself. The fact that these physical improvements were often not executed, and the emphasis rather being on the pictures themselves strengthens this "picture-izing" of the landscape. The image becomes the mediator of change, literally figured in the doubled before/after image.

The addition of the flap is both a demonstration of the improvement as well as an attempt to recuperate some of original qualities of the garden itself. That the flap is a fragment is indicative of the view itself as a fragment of the scene as a whole. It is the introduction of this fragment, and the spatio-temporal layer that it adds, which sets it apart from purely picturesque aesthetics as advocated by Price and Knight.

THE WIMPOLE RED BOOK

Repton visited Wimpole in 1801 while Philip Yorke 3rd Earl of Hardwicke, nephew and heir of Philip Yorke the 2nd, was serving as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.[368] His absence from the estate during Repton's visits gives the Wimpole Red Book a unique quality in that they are designed to substitute for walking through the landscape and seeing and talking about the possibilities for improvement in person. The images and text propose to meld with the Earl's memory to create an imagined tour through the landscape.

As he usually did, Repton begins the Wimpole Red Book with an introductory letter to his client, in this case the 3rd Earl of Hardwicke. Already sensitive to the

[368] Philip Yorke, 3rd Earl of Hardwicke, inherited his title from his paternal uncle, Philip Yorke 2nd. In his political life, he began as a follower of Fox, but soon supported Pitt's administration. In 1801 he was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and served in that capacity until 1806. He was FRS and FSA and a trustee of the British Museum. See J.M. Rigg, "Yorke, Philip, third earl of Hardwicke (1757 – 1834)," rev. Hallie Rubenhold, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/view/article/30248, accessed 27 April 2014].

sensationalization of his images, and that they were often prioritized over his actual suggestions for landscape improvements, Repton identifies the purpose of the images included in the Red Book for Wimpole;

> The sketches are such as will better explain my meaning than mere words; …except in the few instances where a change may be effected, or a principle explained, I have avoided inserting sketches which might serve to render this volume more interesting to strangers, altho' to your Excellency such drawings would be unneccesary.[369]

The subtext being that, as the Earl knows the estate, the drawings are not mere illustration, but are introduced only when they are required to *demonstrate* an idea.

Here, Repton underscores the utility of the images, in combination with the text. While in absentia the Earl could physically as well as mentally and textually test out and either approve or disapprove of the landscape changes. Rather than mere representations of a landscape the Earl knows so well, these images are only included when necessary as a visual enactment of landscaping principles. This subtle difference is key to Repton's work, and his contentions with the picturesque theorists of that period. The Wimpole Red Book especially must, by the necessity of the situation, serve as an intermediary. The text stands in for conversation, the respondent does in fact fill in his/her reactions to the suggestions in pencil throughout the text, and the images must re-enact the landscape itself.[370] The Wimpole Red Book therefore spans distance as well as time in its mediation of the landscape.

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[369] Humphry Repton, *Wimpole Hall, Red Book* (1801). National Trust Archives, Wimpole, Bambridge Collection. WIM.D.484, 485a, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 586. The pages of the text and images have been separated, and therefore each piece has its own archival number. In addition, there are no page numbers in the original text. Where necessary, references to section titles or archival page marks are included.

[370] The identity of the respondent, who wrote several notes in the margins of the book, is still unknown. Likely candidates are Lady Hardwicke, the Head Gardener, or Lord Hardwicke himself. The annotations indicate approvals and alterations to the plan, so likely someone with authority. Lord Hardwicke is referenced in the third person in one passage, and while such usage is not uncommon, it more likely indicates these annotations were by someone else. The presence of the notes, however, and the initial

Given Repton's insistence on the necessity of the images in conjunction with the text, and his common practice of carefully planning the order of text and images, it is incredibly unfortunate that the Wimpole Red Book has been taken apart.[371] All of the pieces have been recovered by the National Trust, but the original book as an object no longer exists in its original state.[372] The text was unbound and separated from the images, which were then cut further, in some cases given additional permanent supports and framed for display. In this process, the text leaves were also unbound and cut away from each other, leaving very little of the original order of the pages and images intact.

What is left of the Red Book indicates that it was a fairly average volume in Repton's oeuvre. With 21 pages of text, a map, and 6 images, 4 with flaps, the book itself was a modest but complete work that places it in the middle of the scale of Repton's possible Red Books. According to the exhaustive research carried out and published by André Rogger, Repton's Red Books could number as little as a few pages of text with a survey map, all the way up to large Moroccan Leather bound volumes containing 12 to 16 sketches. The largest volume known volume is that for Woburn Abbey, which contains 59 pages of text and 47 images, 7 with flaps.[373]

Using Rogger's analysis of Repton's usual working process, the Red Book for Wimpole can be re-constructed to a fair degree of accuracy. The volume appears to have been bound using coptic stitch, a typical construction method for the period in which large folios are gathered into a signature by folding the sheets in half and stitching them together.[374] Each signature is then bound together along the spine, with blank papers on

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address to Hardwicke, indicate a dialogue through the medium of the text. This is not unusual, but is of particular interest given the explanation of the purpose for the sketches, and their intended effect.

[371] See Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste*, 5 – 6.

[372] Discussion with Victoria Moulton, Senior House Steward, August 26, 2015.

[373] Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste,* 208.

[374] Thanks to Claudia Wilburn who helped with the analysis of the text's construction methods, Fall 2016.

either end that allow the whole to be attached to the covers. Though technically a singular manuscript, this process indicates a degree of standardization through imitation of already established norms of printing. This is further enforced in the plates, where the 'frames' mimic the registration markings often used to create prints. The images and the text share the same paper source, indicating that they were planned in to the order of the text and executed with those details in mind.[375]

Keeping with his usual practice, Repton begins the Wimpole Red Book with a letter to his patron, in this case the Earl of Hardwicke. The letter reiterates the attention paid to the images as an aid to the landscape design work, rather "than like the Landscape-painter by selecting favourite points of view and representing them to the eye".[376] This rhetorical move is Repton's attempt to distance himself from the picturesque aesthetics as espoused by Knight and Price. As discussed earlier, these views do in fact choose 'favourite points of view', but the addition of the fragmented flaps and other alterations provide an imaginary tour of the landscape, rather than merely recreating beautiful images that represent various views. On the verso of this letter are the dates of Repton's visits, first in July and then in September, 1801.

The subsections also roughly follow the pattern Repton's clients would have come to expect by this point in his career.[377] Generally, the Red Books first presented an estate's Character, that is the nature of the place and the surrounding countryside, followed by the Situation, which dealt with how the estate was placed within the landscape. At Wimpole, however, this order is reversed, beginning with the Situation and then the Character. As Repton himself explains in the text, though Cambridgeshire is

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[375] These texts tend to mimic printed works, as noted in Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste,* 5. This is further supported by my analysis of the Wimpole Red Book.
[376] Repton, *Wimpole Hall, Red Book*.
[377] Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste,* 13.

charming, the situation of Wimpole is not just that of the countryside's character as it has been marked by centuries of landscape gardening fashions. He first argues, "I do not profess to follow either Le Nôtre or Brown," showing his knowledge of the history of landscape gardening, and thereby establishing his authority to recognize and act on the vesitges of those styles as they appear in the Wimpole landscape. Instead of eliminating these, Repton proposes that "from the school of each I can adopt so much of the grandeur of the former style as may accord with a palace, and so much of the grace of the latter as may call forth the charms of natural Landscape".[378] The text goes on to summarize the history of landscape fashions still evident in the landscape at Wimpole. In giving this brief history he makes a space for his own style and sets the argument in favor of blending these various elements.

According to the transcript in the Wimpole conservation notes, the Approach is next, followed by Views from the House, Buildings at Wimpole, and Drives. Throughout these sections Repton continually points out the vestiges of former designs that mark the Wimpole landscape as a foundation on which to implement his suggested improvements. Repton's proposed alterations rely on a basic assumption that equal emphasis should be placed on the views available to both visitor, thus consideration of the approach and drives, and owner, with views from the principal apartments.

The view from the hall's principal apartments, that is the inhabitant's view, is that of the North park and the gothic tower. The tower, he notes, "is one of the best of its kind extant," but the effect is marred by the two heavy clumps of trees that frame the building too closely. Opening up this view would better unite the tower with "the natural Character and Situation of Wimpole."[379] Uniting the Tower with what Repton

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[378] Repton, *Wimpole Hall, Red Book*, "Situation" (marked p. 6 in pencil by unknown hand. Verso of p. 5).
[379] Repton, *Wimpole Hall, Red Book*.

characterizes as the natural qualities of the landscape included allowing a fuller view of the hill's more gradual approach.

Though completed circa 1776, while Philip Yorke the 3rd was on his grand tour, the Gothic Tower continued to be the focal point of the Wimpole landscape even after he inherited the title and grounds. The view of the Tower from the Hall is the first image in the Red Book for Wimpole (fig. 58). It is also one of only two large, foldout images in the text, as well as one of four that included flaps. The placement and format of the image indicates the continued importance of this structure in the Wimpole landscape by Repton's visit in 1801.

In the explanation of his sketch, Repton goes on to criticize that fashion popularized by Brown,

> of bringing cattle to the windows of a house. It is called natural, but to me it has ever appeared unnatural that a palace should rise immediately out of a sheep pasture… A large house must always be an artificial object, and I cannot understand why the threshold of the door is to be the precise line of division between Art and Nature.

This is his main objection to this view of the North Park. Instead of pasture that comes right up to the doorframe, Repton proposes adding a geometric flower garden between the Hall and landscape to better unify these two realms. "I see no way so effectual of connecting Wimpole house with the pleasure ground as that described on the sketch by filling with flowers the square area between the projections to the north front and fencing the whole by an iron rail that *does not affect to be concealed*" [emphasis mine].[380] The use of artificial aspects to contain and connect the architecture of the hall to the landscape beyond are insisted on as essential to the program here. Rather than Brown's illusion of untouched, idealized nature, Repton's improvements seek to emphasize the presence of

[380] All quotes in this paragraph are from Repton, *Wimpole Hall, Red Book*.

Art, and its harmonious integration with Nature. Artificial, that is architectural or unnatural, elements should not be hidden, as they were in Brown's designs. Unlike the ha-ha, a barrier that conceals its presence, Repton suggests using a railing that does not conceal its nature as architectural. The railing provides a visually permeable boundary that connects and mediates these two realms.

Plate 1 provides a demonstration of this suggestion. In the first view, with the flaps, Repton presents the north park from the Hall during his visits (fig. 58, repeated from above). Two flaps, one from the library wing to the left, and the other from the edge of the picture frame to the right, frame a female figure and the Gothic Tower in the distance. The tower is crowded in by heavy clumps of trees, while the foreground near the hall displays an abrupt break from architecture, the Hall, to the pasture. By removing the flaps, the heavy clumps in the middle ground are thinned to show the tower better united with the surrounding landscape by removing some of the trees in the middle distance (fig. 59). The Gothic Tower is no longer heavily framed, but subtly integrated and highlighted by the apparently random placement of tree groups or clumps. This unifies the ruin with the rest of the landscape by opening up the view to include the hill and the forest that creates the belt beyond. This view also reveals Repton's interventions in the landscape in a transitional garden space that is more architectural.

The proposed flower garden in the foreground gives the eye both a resting space and draws the view out into the landscape in more measured increments. The addition of the railing is practical, but also provides a visual and physical separation between the realm of art, that is the hall, and the realm of nature, meaning the landscape. Adding a formalized garden creates a space where nature and art are blended, creating a mediating space. This allows the landscape beyond to be read as more natural, as the formalized

garden and railing extend the categorization of natural/artificial begun in the space of the hall, as the domain of art.[381]

The water of the artificial lakes, a key feature in the north park, cannot be seen in the image, or in any of the views from the hall. Repton proposes including some type of indicator of water, such as a sail, in order to "give a hint that water existed there". Preempting his detractors, he quickly notes that such a device "will perhaps be deemed a trick or deception" but goes on to defend the inclusion of such deceptions in the landscape where necessary by pointing out that "every piece of artificial water must be in some degree a deception, or it will give no pleasure."[382] The equation is made here between deception and pleasure, and Repton's entire treatise for Wimpole, and indeed much of his practice, indicates what he sees as the natural alliance between deception, in the form of art or artifice, and nature in the landscape garden.

With regard to the Gothic Tower, Repton suggests that it could be made useful, while not detracting from its aesthetic effect in the garden by making it into a Keeper's lodge. Such a renovation did occur at Wimpole, likely on Repton's suggestion, which indicates a radical departure from the tower's function in the landscape as it was built under Philip Yorke the 2nd and Jemima Marchioness Grey. Making the Tower into a habitation, rather than just habitable or a spot for viewing, restricts the access to the interior of the Tower. Repton seems to have been aware of this, as he proposes adding a bench or some other spot at the base of the Tower where visitors could comfortably take in the view.[383] Being made habitable and comfortable is a key quality for a garden feature in Repton's work. In this way, he transforms the Gothic Tower from a 'mouldering ruin'

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381 See Lassus, "Games of Displacement," in *The Landscape Approach*, 26.
382 Repton, *Wimpole Hall, Red Book*.
383 Repton, *Wimpole Hall, Red Book*.

such as Knight's Landscape poem proposes, into an aesthetically pleasing, and above all useful, structure in the landscape.

In his catalog on Wimpole, David Adshead attempts to reconcile Repton's disdain for fabricated ruins with his praise of the tower by proposing it as a case of damning through faint praise, or perhaps that the landscape gardener felt constrained by the biases or requests of his patron(s).[384] While these are both certainly possible, it is equally possible that Repton could subsume some fabricated ruins under his aesthetic, as long as they share particular qualities. Specifically, they must be made useful, and they should emphasize a progressive viewpoint/experience of the landscape. As mentioned above, one of the key principles of Repton's design relied on the garden as a space to move in and through, rather than one that was constrained to the limited viewpoints demanded by landscape painting.[385] In his discussion of the drives at Wimpole, Repton points out that the Gothic Tower is amenable to just such a progressive viewpoint with some alteration of the plantings around the drive. It provides a good focal point with variety and interest from various points within the garden and along the drive.

After discussing the view of the north park from the Hall, the next section considers a few further alterations in that same landscape. The artificial lake between the hall and the Gothic Tower is the site of Repton's next suggestion. The second plate in the Red Book (fig. 60) depicts an urn placed near the artificial lake, following Repton's description in the accompanying text. The urn associates the spot with picturesque fashions, taking full advantage of the reflective qualities of the water and the

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[384] Adshead, *Wimpole,* 101.

[385] Hunt, "Sense and Sensibility," Notes John Claudius Loudon, *The landscape gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton, Esq*. (1840; rpt. London: Gregg, 1969): 96. "the spot from whence the view is taken, is in a fixed state to the painter; but the gardener surveys his scenery while in motion.

associational qualities of the urn. The urn in particular may reinforce associations with established atmospheres, including elegy, regret, and melancholy. Repton notes its effect on the visual quality of the scene, "With this view I have supposed a Vase placed in one of the bays sketch N.[no number indicated] where a Painter's eye will instantly be aware of the great importance which may be derived from an Urn so placed or even a garden chair upon the margin of the water." This would, according to Repton, "break the monotony of green; and it is no where [sic] more desirable than in those dark recesses of water where it may be doubled by reflection."[386] While Repton does not elaborate on the particular affective qualities of such a scene, referencing reflection creates a rhetorical association with meditation or reflection.

Such affective associations are further emphasized by the apparent disconnection between the two chairs that appear in the image facing away from each other. These indicate a comfortable resting place for visitors, and a space for an artist who might enjoy the various picturesque possibilities and associations in contemplating the urn reflected in the water. The placement of the chairs facing away from each other indicates the possibilities of the scene as one for solitude and meditation, rather than socialization or communication. The directions of the chairs also indicate the potential for multiple views taken from this spot. From the bank of the pond a visitor can take in all aspects of the north park; the hall to the south, the artificial lakes, and the gothic tower to the north. The different directions of the chairs may indicate the panoramic, embodied view of the visitor that cannot be translated into the frame of the traditional image format.

After elaborating on the key elements of the north park, Repton turns his attention to the other buildings around Wimpole. The sorely neglected Prospect House to the West

[386] Repton, *Wimpole Hall, Red Book*, Verso of "Continued" marked in pencil as p. 24.

of the main hall, overlooking the south park, appears next in the Red Book. With due respect to the credited designer, James 'Athenian' Stuart, Repton wonders aloud at the strange design where the columns appear on the ground level and support a rather weighty prospect room.[387]

While the image of the Prospect House is a single ink and wash sketch of Repton's proposed alterations, the print from 1781, introduced in Chapter one, gives a good indication of the architectural characteristics Repton discusses (fig. 25). This print shows the ground floor with a portico created with slender columns supporting a fully enclosed upper story. The image also implies that the structure is placed on the top of the hill, but the actual placement, as Repton notes, is near the top cut in to the side of the hill. This, combined with the delicate columns on the bottom and heavy blocks on top, appears to have created structural issues exacerbated by drainage problems due to the site of the building.[388]

As with the Gothic Tower Repton proposes turning the lower half into a laborer's cottage, and adds a suggestion for restoring the upper portion to its function as a site from which to take in the prospect. The sketch he provides for these improvements (fig. 61) is the only black and white image in this Red Book. It also has slit marks along one edge, indicating that perhaps at one point he intended to add a flap but decided against it.[389] Though Repton was not a trained architect, he had, earlier in his career, partnered with

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[387] Repton, *Wimpole Hall, Red Book*.

[388] Repton, *Wimpole Hall, Red Book*.

[389] Examining the paper in person, the slit is visible, though barely. The image has been re-backed, so it was not possible to tell if it was completed or if there was a flap that is now missing. Given the textual description, a flap was likely not included. This may be an indication of that which Repton noted at the beginning: that he would only include images needed to demonstrate ideas, not to remind or record those things that the Earl would already know.

John Nash.[390] Repton's son, John Adey Repton (1775 – 1860), was apprenticed to the famed architect and by the time of the Wimpole Red Book was beginning to collaborate with his father in the design of the Red Books and landscape commissions. From both a structural and visual standpoint, Repton suggests re-arranging the whole so that the columns and more delicate portion be placed on top of the heavier construction. In plate 3 of the Red Book, the base of the building is the weightier portion, with the columns moved to the second floor. Additional foliage in front blends the building with the surrounding landscape.

After considering these major architectural focal points in the landscape, Repton turns his attention to the laborers' cottages to the northwest of the hall. He devotes 2 of the 6 plates to these cottages.[391] These images both include a flap, but unlike the image of the north park, they are the size of the text pages and unaltered plates. Plate 4 shows "Cottage Row", a group of houses in the small village integrated into the eastern portion of the North park. The first effect shows a thick line of trees to the left that obscures the landscape beyond and directs the viewer's attention to the cottages (fig. 62). These are shown in a variety of colors with little regard for visually harmonizing with the landscape, according to the text. Removing the flap (fig. 63) shows the line of trees broken into clumps, the cottages have been whitewashed and partially hidden behind a grove of varying heights to provide a screen that nonetheless is visually interesting and

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[390] This partnership between Nash and Repton ended badly, as referenced in Daniels and in Repton's memoirs. Though by this period Repton's son had taken on most of the architectural details of his practice.
[391] Two of six plates dedicated to labourer's cottages may seem disproportionate, however it does point to the 3rd Earl of Hardwicke's particular interest in creating the ideal village, and the *ferme ornée* (ornamental farm), which he strived to emulate at Wimpole. These may be in reaction to the critique of the wastefulness of the practicalities of the English Landscape style, as indicated in works like Oliver Goldsmith, *The Deserted Village* (1770). Yorke's own preferences, especially later in life once he settled down at Wimpole, often tended toward gentleman farming and writing/researching husbandry techniques. These, along with designs for an ideal village, might explain the attention given to these aspects of the estate. Adshead, *Wimpole*, 90.

unified with the landscape as a whole. Plate 5 provides a close-up image of a single cottage (fig. 64). The second effect shows the change in color by whitewashing, and the addition of a trellis in place of the fence. Foliage on the trellis visually and physically integrates the building with the landscape while providing a visual screen (fig. 65).

The last portion of the Red Book deals with the drives and walks throughout and around the estate. Repton introduces this section by calling his reader's attention to the then-recent controversy between himself, Price, and Knight. Repton gives little else in the way of the substance of this controversy, or his part in it, yet its placement within the text, appearing as it does as a precedent to the discussion of how the garden is experienced through the walks and drives, indicates his overall position without having to state it outright.[392] As discussed above, the insistence on landscape painting as the proper model for garden design privileges a single viewpoint, or at best a series of distinct views. Repton maintained that the experience of the landscape relied on a progressive viewpoint, seeing the landscape while in motion.[393] That this reference occurs here in the Wimpole Red Book points to the Drives and walks as essential to Repton's conception of the landscape, as the basis for his suggestions throughout.

The various suggestions in the Red Book for Wimpole indicate an equal preoccupation with the aesthetic of the place from a variety of viewpoints, the physical connection between these points, including walks and drives, and the necessary management of the wild life, farm life, foliage, etc. The survey map (fig. 66) outlines two main drives on the estate; one through the north park marked in orange the other

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[392] Repton, *Wimpole Hall, Red Book*.

[393] Hunt, "Sense and Sensibility," 22. Also, Bradney, Jane. "The Carriage-Drive in Humphry Repton's Landscapes," *Garden History*, vol. 33, no. 1 (Summer, 2005): 31-46. Repton, *Fragments,* and Repton, *Observations*.

encircling the estate in grey.[394] The accompanying text suggests improving and extending the belt drive encircling the north park established by Brown, marked in grey. These included two possible drives, one to the north of Johnson's hill, the other cutting across the northern part of the park up to the Gothic Tower. Both of these possible drives connect with the shorter path between the landscape and the village, before diverging again for a drive through the neighboring Cobs Wood and out along the road to Cambridge. The shorter drive begins at Arrington, approaches the Hall from the south, then cuts through the North park using the gate in the middle of the ha-ha to approach the Chinese bridge over the artificial lakes directly. This drive then circles the lower part of the lakes, marked as Fish Ponds on the map, toward the village and ends at the kitchen garden and farm.

Repton's improvements consist primarily of clearing several progressive viewpoints toward the interior of the belt, that is toward the tower and/or the hall, varied by two main viewpoints to the exterior of the belt on the eastside, looking over Arrington, and the West side to the beginning of Cobs Wood. He also proposes extending this drive into the wood, then joining with the approach from Cambridge. The second, shorter drive may either connect to the larger belt drive, or go over the bridge between the two artificial ponds, along the east side of the estate through the cottages and kitchen garden, then back to the stables.

The last plate in the book is the approach from the south park (fig. 67). Contrary to Repton's usual working order, the Approach, though mentioned earlier in the text, is

[394] The map indicates that it is a copy from an earlier survey in the Earl's possession. Adshead, *Wimpole*, 100. Adshead notes that this earlier map is likely an Anonymous 1800 Survey of the Park currently in the Cambridge University Library, MS Plans 609. The colors are my interpretation, and are not mentioned by color in Repton's text. See Repton, "Interior Drives and Walks," and "Drives," *Wimpole Hall, Red Book*.

used as a culminating point to bring together all of the improvements suggested.[395] Plate 6 is the same size as plate 1, being wider than the text pages through the addition of a foldout section. With the flap, the before image of the approach centers on the hall, with the stables to the right of the image commanding the image due to the line of the drive and the various colors of brick indicated in the building. The text indicates that the stables as they stood during Repton's visit capture the viewer's eye first. He also notes that there was discussion already in place about removing or altering the stables to correct this.

Rather than removing the stables, the improved image under the flap suggests a change in color, whitewashing the stables to blend them more harmoniously with the Hall and the surroundings, and the cottages (fig. 68). Replanting the south park up to the stables with clumps creates a partial screen to take the emphasis off the stable area and redirect the visitor's focus on the hall as s/he approaches via the drive through the south park. The verso of the flap also contains text indicating that the trees in the 'improved' view are already in place and merely need time to grow to create the depicted effect.

As was the case in several of Repton's commissions, the Wimpole Red Book was apparently successful as a device for presenting Repton's designs. Of the changes proposed in the Red Book, the majority were implemented. The general approval of Repton's suggestions is indicated in the various handwritten notes throughout the book. Generally, where a concept was rejected the primary issue was that the cost of the change weighed against the effect. The Prospect House, for instance, was likely eliminated altogether, rather than spend the large sum required to have it altered and repaired. Most of Repton's suggestions, however, were approved in the handwritten notes. The notes are particularly effusive on the possibilities of the drives and walks Repton suggested to open

[395] Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste,* 72.

the landscape to both movement and progressive viewing. They also suggest a possible explanation for the fact that Repton dedicated two plates with flaps to the cottages in the village near Wimpole. These were much approved by the commentator, and are an early indication of the 3rd Earl's interest in creating an ideal village in harmony with a working *ferme ornée*.[396]

RECEPTION: RAREE SHOW

Though Red Books like the one produced for Wimpole were highly sought after, they were also ridiculed and criticized by several of Repton's contemporaries.[397] While the most-often critiqued part of Repton's practice, the spectacle-like quality of the Red Book was also the foundation of its success. Were they unwarranted 'tricks'? Or a clever medium that manages to delightfully deceive the viewer in a manner that argues for Repton's improvements on his behalf.

Reception of Repton's Red Books, whether praise or critique, indicates that these images were a radical departure from the norms of landscape design and representation. The overlaid images in the Red Books attempt to integrate representation with the physical realities of the landscape garden. While Repton may not have intended a public audience for his Red Books,[398] they nonetheless entered the public realm.[399] Repton's own

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[396] While this chapter does not require or have space for expanding on this aspect of Wimpole, it is interesting to note that in his later life, the 3rd Earl's spent most of his time at Wimpole. At Wimpole, the 3rd Earl was most interested in researching and implementing farming techniques and architecture, while also commissioning plans on how to create an ideal village, working closely with Sir John Soane. See Adshead, Wimpole, 87 – 96. In 1809, Repton was also commissioned to design and execute an extension of the Hall at Wimpole, creating a conservatory that extended to the west off the library. Adshead, Wimpole, 108 – 109.

[397] Rogger, Landscapes of Taste, 2. "The unbroken popularity of the Red Books is undoubtedly due to Repton's idea to provide many of the inserted watercolours with flaps." Yet these were also criticized by contemporaries, and even Loudon found the device too contrived, as will be explored in the rest of the chapter.

[398] Rogger, Landscapes of Taste, 32. Repton's sites, by design and by the character of client he tended to have, were generally private, or at least not designed with tourism or the public in mind at all.

advertisements offered potential clients these 'moveable views' in addition to his landscape improvement suggestions, indicating that his own self-promotion relied heavily on these images from the beginning.

The Red Books began as instructions for landscape designs, but they took on a life of their own in the visual culture.[400] The images, particularly those with overlaid fragments, provide a complicating counterpoint to landscape painting in light of picturesque aesthetics. The allure of these images lay in the deceptive quality that aimed to capture the elusive spatio-temporal qualities of the garden. Following the logic applied to the term 'picturesque', that the term cannot be meaningfully applied to an image, Repton's images derive their effects from the landscape itself. Rather than 'picturesque' images, we might say that they are 'garden-esque', images that evoke or rely on the qualities of the garden as a key element of their design.

The term 'gardenesque' was used in the period to describe a type of landscape gardening. Coined by John Claudius Loudon (1783 – 1843), the term indicates a style that relies primarily on botanical and horticultural developments in the garden, and an emphasis on ornament.[401] In Loudon's estimation, however, Repton's images are overly-

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[399] Daniels, *Humpry Repton,* 11. Red books often functioned as records, albums of views, "as an advertisement for Repton's work, in the drawing-rooms of clients, passed around potential patrons, and, in the case of the Red Book for Tatton, put in the shop window of a Pall Mall bookseller to solicit subscriptions for Repton's first published treatise."

[400] Daniels, "Introduction," Repton, *The Red Books for Brandsbury and Glemham Hall*, viii. "Red Books were meant to be alluring, not just for their owners but to secure further commissions and public esteem. Left lying on the library table they would be seen by neighboring landowners, visiting family and friends, or, in the political power-houses which Repton sought out, by a nationwide network of influential figures."

[401] Adshead, *Wimpole*, 424. Notes Repton's interventions at Wimpole, especially the flower garden in the north park, as (proto)gardenesque, but without any clarification of the comment. Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, 143. Notes Loudon's coining of the term as a style, and implies that it relied on an increased interested in botany and horticulture. *Gardenesque* coined by Loudon in 1832. Loudon, *The landscape gardening and Landscape Architecture of The Late Humphry Repton* (1840): viii. "a school which we call the Gardenesque; the characteristic feature of which is the display of the beauty of trees, and other plants, individually."

A summary of Loudon's gardenesque, based on Quatremere de Quincy's writings, written by Charlesworth in the introduction to Charlesworth, ed. *The English Garden: Literary Sources & Documents* (East Sussex,

manipulative devices that predispose the viewer to his ideas.[402] He argues that since the improved image is developed as a whole, it will therefore always be superior to the fragment.[403] The pleasure of revealing what was hidden further biases the viewer in favor of Repton's improvements. Yet, the fragment is necessary to the delightful effect produced by the Red Books, and the revelation of the underlying image also requires close scrutiny of the one that covers it. Though the image is not as uniform, the fragment actually produces interest in the before image as the viewer inspects each thoroughly to revel in the changes brought about by the device.

As demonstrated throughout this project, the fragment is also part of the allure. Fragments involve the viewer/visitor, imaginatively or physically, to complete the scene. Here, the moment of discovery and completion initiated by the presence of the fragment that occludes the view is instantly satisfied by removing the flap to reveal the improved view. Loudon's critique, and indication that the whole is preferred to the fragment, is perhaps either misspoken or evidence of a different attitude toward the fragment. The search for completion, especially in all of the studies presented here, is much more preferable and engaging than the attainment of it, and as such heightens the pleasure in viewing both effects.

U.K.: Helm Information, 2002), 231. "The cornerstone of de Quincy's theory, on which all rests, was that pleasure derived from the arts is proportionable [sic] to the degree of imitation that an art form involved." Landscape gardening could never be a fine/imitative art, as it is always natural. "Loudon's response … was to argue that a landscape gardener should use obviously artificial elements, such as flower borders, straight lines, and geometrical layouts, to remind the visitor that he or she was encountering a product of art." They should also use specimens that are not necessarily natural to that area, or promote beautifully 'unnatural' growth. Therefore, there was also a proliferation of ornamental devices and formalized plantings, etc. in this 'style'.

[402] Daniels, *Humpry Repton,* 4, and endnote 8. Loudon's comments: "The device made Repton's art suspect to his more prosaic rivals in landscape improvement. John Claudius Loudon declared that it displayed Repton's 'tinsel kind of talent'. [note 8: "John Claudius Loudon, *A Treatise on Forming, Improving and Managing Country Residences* (London, 1804), vol. 2, 705 – 8, 659."]

[403] Daniels, *Humpry Repton,* 4, and endnote 8.

Even so, Loudon's criticism of the Red Book 'trick' led him to alter this manner of display in the editions of Repton's work he edited and republished. According to Andre Rogger,

> By privileging the text and reducing the sketches to 'illustrations', Loudon's edition emulated the character of a universal taxonomy. However, what Repton had actually done with the Red Books and their publication offspring was introduce into the discussion of gardens a didactic interweave of image and text.[404]

While Loudon's re-production of Repton's images de-emphasized their theatrical quality, it was that theatrical quality that formed the basis of their success. Repton's own works, as in the Wimpole Red Book, indicate that his images are not merely illustrative. His insistence that they demonstrate his ideas through the inclusion of the flap indicates an integration of text and image. Rogger also notes that Loudon emphasized the textual and theoretical basis of Repton's work, and attempted to distance his work from the visual trickery of the images, in order to save it despite itself.

> The text bias of the announced series [by Loudon] determined the image-hostile format of Repton's volume: with essays on gardening by William Shenstone, Thomas Whately, William Mason and Uvedale Price, Loudon had selected works whose theoretical claims appealed to the imagination of the reader and which were, therefore, 'illustrated by descriptions'.[405]

While these theoretical writers and poets were certainly part of Repton's claims to gardening as an art, the prevailing textual emphasis in Loudon's reproduction reinforced the idea that these images were mere tricks and only useful as illustration. In so doing, Loudon erased much of the impact Repton's work had on the visual representation of the landscape in order to privilege his practice as a landscape gardener and his grounding in the textual and theoretical history of the medium.

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[404] Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste,* 39.
[405] Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste,* 39.

Despite Loudon's attempts to re-classify these images as mere illustration, the Red Books and their before/after images had already come to define Repton and his practice in the wider visual culture. The Red Books were widely known, finding both fame and harsh criticism beyond the realm of landscape gardening. Sir Walter Scott and Jane Austen both noted their own criticisms, and the critical atmosphere that corresponded with Repton's success. Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* named Repton specifically, reducing him to a type in a critique of the wider culture of garden improvement and the picturesque.[406]

Sir Walter Scott's published reviews of Repton's work in 1828 were, as Alan Tait points out in his work on the landscape garden in Scotland, "more conventional and circumspect. For the readers of the *Quarterly Review*, Repton was paraded as 'a man of very considerable talents'."[407] Despite this public approval, Scott's comments had a bit more bite in private. In a letter dated 1816 Scott writes, "There is great amusement in reciting that description of between what is & what was which Mr. Repton exhibits by means of that ancient contrivance a raree show omitting only the magnifying glass & substituting his Red Book for the box and strings."[408] This critical comment is oft-quoted

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406 Daniels, *Humpry Repton,* 25. "While Repton was attempting to chart his alienation from commercial society, rewriting his career as a confidante of cultured, benevolent gentlemen, Jane Austen identified him in *Mansfield Park* as a brand name for money-minded delinquents: 'Mr Repton…His terms are five guineas a day…Repton, or any body of that sort…any Mr Repton who would…give me as much beauty as he could for my money'."[note 57]

407 Alan A. Tait, *The landscape garden in Scotland, 1735 – 1835* (Edinbugh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980): 204. [note 6 misc. prose works of sir walter scott, vol. 21, p. 102] n. 4: 'for Scott's opinion of Sir Uvedale Price, see his essays in the Quarterly Review of 1828, and in Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, vol. 21, pp. 102 - 5. See also Marcia Allentuck, 'Scott and the Picturesque' Scott Bicentary Essays, ed. Alan Bell (edinburgh 1973): 188 - 198."

408 Sir Walter Scott, *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*. Edited by HJC Grierson. assisted by Davidson Cook, W.M. Parker, et al. London : Constable & Co Ltd., 1933): v. 4, p. 291 - 295. Also noted in . Tait, *The landscape garden in Scotland*, 204. Daniels, *Humpry Repton*. Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste*.
Etymology: 'raree show', according to the Oxford English Dictionary, comes from the English 'rare' or rarity show.

by scholars of Repton's work, however the implications of Scott's usage of this comparison have not been fully analyzed.[409]

Though these responses are primarily critical, it also shows the extent to which Repton's visual devices had entered the imagination of the culture surrounding landscape design.[410] Scott was not alone in employing this theatrical comparison, as Stephen Daniels is quick to point out, noting that William Marshall, writing for the *Monthly Review* in 1796, likened Repton's work to 'rural pantomime'.[411] Scott's jibe is a multi-layered reference that indicates the degree to which theatrical devices, Repton's representations, and actual landscape experience were tied together by the early nineteenth century.

On the surface, as noted in several secondary sources, Scott's critique likens Repton's Red Books to a raree show. This reference encompasses a wide range of objects, including peep shows, pantomimes, optical devices, moving panoramas, and other 'low' entertainments.[412] The defining quality of a raree show, at the time, was that it

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[409] There is some debate about this. Daniels, "Introduction," Repton, *The Red Books for Brandsbury and Glemham Hall*, ix. Daniels notes that this may not be critical, but more sympathetic. "While a stern realist like J.C. Loudon complained of the falsity of this principle and the misleading nature of Repton's overlap technique, Walter Scott, more sympathetically recognized its basis in Regency theater, especially in miniature transformation scenes." His opinion changes, or is firmed up, in Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, where he tends to agree with others that the tone is critical. Rogger is the most decided, noting the comment as a malicious slur. Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste*, 84. "This is a malicious slur on the Red Books as hocus pocus by the Scottish Romantic and was doubtless intended to conjue up other contemporary 'landscape spectacles'."

[410] This interpretation was developed using an approach similar to that used in Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion*. Erkki Huhtamo's method of Media Archaeology demonstrates the application of media theory to broader culture. He argues that the use of such media as metaphors indicates the degree to which such spectacles and formats enter and affect the conception and structure of the culture in which it is found.

[411] Daniels, *Humpry Repton,* 4.

[412] Daniels, *Humpry Repton*. 5 – 7. This usage of 'low' entertainments is commonplace during the period, but also serves as a useful pair to the previous discussion of 'high' or noble arts. Many of Repton's works, especially *Observations on the theory and practice of landscape gardening* , and *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening,* used philosophical and aesthetic sources to subtly argue for landscape gardening's place among the 'high' arts. Its comparison with the theatrical, and Repton's apparent embrace of that comparison (Daniels) further indicates the degree to which these categories were in flux during the period.

encompassed a world of popular spectacles, and also involved some portable mechanism that created an entertaining illusion, usually considered to be of little or no intellectual value.[413] Scott's comment evokes a type, rather than a specific instance or material raree show. Depictions of these devices in the eighteenth and nineteenth century provide an indication of the type of entertainment that Scott is trying to associate with Repton's images.

An early print of a raree show (fig. 69), from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, shows an entertainer displaying a series of images contained in a box. The box opens into a triptych, displaying a series of scenes that on the bottom appear to spill out of the frame. This triptych sits on an object shaped like a closed book. The possible implication of a book, or book-like form, indicates an intriguing link with the form of Repton's own 'raree show' contained within the Red Books. In the print, the children point while the entertainer stands behind the display. His mouth is open, possibly indicating that he narrating the scenes, or perhaps calling out for others to view the entertainment.

Over a century later, another print from 1842 shows a similar scene (fig. 70). In this first proof for Cruikshanks, held at the British Museum, the raree show is shown in a considerably different form. Like the earlier print, an entertainer creates the drama, in this case by pulling the strings on the side of the box. Children are still the main audience of the spectacle, as they peer in to holes possibly enhanced with magnifying glasses. A show like this was likely closer to Scott's intended reference, given the strings and glass he specifies in his remark.

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[413] Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion*. Stafford and Terpak, *Devices of Wonder*. And others have developed on these kinds of entertainments in their work. They have, quite correctly, problematized the characterization of these entertainments by pointing out their didactic function and widespread appeal during the period.

Long before Scott's comment, the raree show was a popular device for satirizing various aspects of British culture. In this late eighteenth century print (fig. 71), the June 1779 session of parliament is satirized as a 'raree show'.[414] The political events of the day are contained in a larger-than-life box, complete with captions. The figures inside are putting on a show visible through the peep hole for entertaining various passers-by, encouraged by the showman to look through the glass. As in this satirical print, raree shows were often used to indicate a spectacle that had little or no substance. In Scott's usage, he is likening both Repton's Red Book images, and by extension his landscape improvements, to a simple deception that is purely entertainment.

Yet, as Ralph Allen points out in his contribution to *Stage and the Page*, such spectacles were an integral and important part of the financial security of the theatre.[415] 'Low' entertainments, including pantomimes and harlequinnades, which might be shown before, after, and during intermissions, formed an essential part of the whole theatrical experience. These spectacles were widely appreciated and often drew larger crowds more consistently than 'classic' and high-minded plays.[416] It is in this same culture that the theatre sets designed by Philip De Loutherbourg received such acclaim.[417] William Marshall's critique of Repton's work, that it turned 'rural improvement' in to 'rural pantomime' pre-figures Scott's, showing the link between landscape gardening and theatrical elements through the mediating format of the Red Books' representations.[418]

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414 British Musem, 1868,0808.4594. The curatorial notes for this print from the British Museum quotes the accompanying text that explains each of the scenes.

415 Ralph G. Allen, "Irrational Entertainment in the Age of Reason," in *The Stage and the Page: London's "Whole Show" in the Eighteenth-Century Theatre* ed. by George Winchester Stone, Jr. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981).

416 Allen, "Irrational Entertainments in the Age of Reason," 90 – 91.

417 Allen, "Irrational Entertainments in the Age of Reason," 90 – 91. De Loutherbourg designed sets for Drury Lane, and Allen notes that he can be credited with at least the sets for the *Tempest*.

418 Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, 4. Daniels notes this, also William Marshall's critique published in *Monthly Review* (January, 1796): 7.

Stephen Daniels has also used these comments to discuss the connections between Repton's designs and theatrical spectacles of the period.[419] He notes that "Illusion was central to Repton's style. He delighted in mirrors, tricks, and exotic effects of light and shade."[420] Daniels' work makes an excellent case for this claim, noting Repton's own interest in theater and popular entertainments. While his interpretation uses instances of reception, including Scott's and Marshall's comments, his primary focus is the effect of the theatre on the landscape designer's improvements and images.

André Rogger discusses Scott's comment a bit further, arguing that this "malicious slur on the Red Books as hocus pocus by the Scottish Romantic and was doubtless intended to conjure up other contemporary 'landscape spectacles'."[421] He elaborates on 'landscape spectacle' by citing Philip de Loutherbourg's Eidophusikon, as well as Thomas Gainsborough's 'Showboxes' of 1781/2.[422] Rogger's comment on landscape spectacles refers to spectacles created with representations of landscapes. Yet the theatrical nature of Repton's own work, while part of a longer tradition of such representations, elicited responses that specifically targeted this integration of the theatrical in the landscape through the representational format. Whether malicious or sympathetic, the comment indicates the degree to which Repton's overlaid images integrated the theatrical with the depiction and design of the landscape.

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[419] Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, 4. Refers to scott's comparison between Repton & miniature regency theatricals. "Sir Walter Scott described Repton's designs as 'a raree show omitting only the magnifying glass and substituting his Red Book for the box and strings'." this sourced with a citation for A.A. Tait, *The landscape garden in Scotland 1735 - 1835*, (edinburgh, 1980), 204.

[420] Repton, *The Red Books for Brandsbury and Glemham Hall,* ix.

[421] Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste,* 84.

[422] Michael Rosenthal and Martin Myrone, eds. *Thomas Gainsborough 1727 – 1788*. With contributions by Rica Jones, et. al. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2002): 256. Thomas Gainsborough's 'Showboxes' of 1781/2 "in which rural scenes painted in oils on glass were illuminated from behind by a candle. Also noted in Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste,* 84. And, Ralph G. Allen "The Stage Spectacles of Philip James de Loutherbourg." (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1960).

Repton's interest in the theater and theatrical entertainments is certainly a key element in the development of the Red Book device. The evidence of Repton's involvement with theatrical devices and formats is well documented, by Daniels and others. Scott's comments indicate that this landscape and theater connection was also present in the reception of Repton's images. Given its popularity, the Red Book was clearly successful on several levels, indicating an acceptance of these theatricals tricks into the scope of how we represent and understand the landscape.

LANDSCAPE EXPERIENCE AS RED BOOK

On another level, one often left out of the secondary literature, the context of Scott's letter has nothing to do with an actual Red Book by Repton.[423] Rather, Scott is recounting plans for improvements at Abbotsford, and how he has shown and talked about his plans with various visitors. The entirety of the section, written in a letter to Lady Louisa Stuart in 1816, reads as follows:

> For besides that Abbotsford affords no more opportunity of seclusion than one would possess in a moderate sized lanthorn, there is a sort of pleasure in the present state of matters there to run about with every new stranger, and tell him thus I have done & this do I design to do - so have things been formerly - thus they stand now, & thus seen by prophetic spectacles they will shew hereafter. There is great amusement in reciting that description of between what is & what was which Mr. Repton exhibits by means of that ancient contrivance a raree show omitting only the magnifying glass & substituting his Red Book for the box and strings.[424]

Both of these elements of the raree show are displayed in the 1842 print. The holes through which the children look could contain the magnifying glass, while the entertainer pulls the strings. In this metaphor, positing the Red Book as the box equates Repton with

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[423] Tait, *The landscape garden in Scotland*. Tait notes Scott's work in the context of discussion Abbotsford, but does not develop on the Repton to quote except as evidence of what was there in 1814, and what was planned.

[424] Scott, *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, v. 4, 291 – 292.

the entertainer's position. Yet, the Red Book is a self-contained device. That is, the viewer is the one responsible for operating the 'trick' by removing the flap, and s/he in this action takes the place of both the viewer, and the entertainer. The Red Book exhibits the changes that appear over time, between what is and what was, mediated through a theatrical overlaid image, implying that that which is shown is an illusion. Yet, the illusion, in this case, is 'real', as in it is physically the landscape (Abbotsford) and its possible improvements. And in this case, Scott's place in the above analogy would equate himself with Repton, and his descriptions as the Red Book.

Scott's description continues, however, by discussing his visitors' experience, with an emphasis on the physical hardships of his guests as they are led through the landscape.

> The unfortunate guests to be sure pay for their beef & port with wet feet & perhaps sore throats when they are carried round to see nature in her primitive nakedness & the tailors engaged in cutting out her new cloaths [sic]: but then what came they forth to the wilderness to see - for my part I make it a rule never to spare them either for pinch'd features, benumb'd hands, miry feet or doleful looks & receive all the compliments which their sad civility compels them to muster as a debt due & a thing of course.[425]

Tait, in his work on Scottish landscape gardens, correctly reads Scott's tone in this comment as flippant.[426] Yet this passage show the degree to which Repton's representational devices have become a framework for viewing, a metaphor or illusory counterpart to physically visiting a landscape and describing its possibilities for improvement. The distinction is between Repton's illusory, that is fictional or somehow not-real, scenes, and the 'real' act of leading of people through the physical landscape. The authenticity of the activity is marked by the visitors' 'pinch'd features, benumb'd

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[425] Scott, *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, v. 4, 291 – 292.

[426] Tait, *The landscape garden in Scotland,* 204. This is further supported by other instances of Scott using this phrase derogatorily.

hands, miry feet or doleful looks'. Whereas Repton's Red Book for Wimpole, especially, is used as a substitute for on site, in-person interactions, Scott is doing the opposite. He is actually walking through his landscape with visitors, and using the Red Book as a metaphor for doing so.

Scott's comments relate specifically to his visitors' experience in the landscape as he describes his improvements. While this comment equates Red Books with entertainment, the distinction remains that they are not actual raree shows. Repton's Red Books, it should be recalled, were not produced as spectacles for their own sake. Rather, they are created as a tool for actual changes made in the landscape. Scott's comment about his own landscape likens his own behavior to that of Repton, framing the visitor's experience in terms of one of Repton's Red Books. Yet unlike those images, Scott's visitors are fully and physically immersed in the 'real' landscape. They are cold, uncomfortable, etc. and this authenticity is set is contrast to Repton's images by equating them with a substance-less entertainment.

Despite his apparent humor at his visitor's discomfort, Scott's letter reveals a passion for such improvements, as well as for showing them off like a 'raree show' after the manner of Repton. In *The landscape garden in Scotland,* A.A. Tait remarks that "Scott shared with Repton an almost evangelical enthusiasm for landscape."[427] In a letter quoted by Tait, Scott says of Abbotsford: "'I have been studying Price with my eyes and [am] not without hopes of converting an old gravel pit into a bower and an exhausted quarry into a bathing house…[see] how deeply I am bit with the madness of the picturesque'."[428] It is in this context of landscape improvement that Scott's raree show

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[427] Tait, *The landscape garden in Scotland,* 204.

[428] Tait, *The landscape garden in Scotland,* 204. Citation: note 4. *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, edited by Grierson, vol. 3, p. 240. 'for Scott's opinion of Sir Uvedale Price, see his essays in the *Quarterly Review* of 1828, and in *Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. 21, pp. 102 - 5. See also Marcia

jibe appears, with a notation that he is indeed using Repton's Red Book as a metaphor for this sort of landscape visit melded with improvement.[429] Scott is here using Price, while also referencing Repton, in his landscape design. His off-hand critique of Repton's own visual devices, then, might be an attempt to obscure the equivalence of his improvements with Repton's. That Price must be studied with the eyes, while Repton's work is invoked in relation to an authentic experience in the landscape, recalls the picturesque debate which was well known by the time of Scott's comments.

Repton's system, though critiqued, would have been particularly desirable for Scott, who Tait notes was "keen not only to make but to see the results of improvement was apparent in his [Scott's] work at Abbotsford from the very start."[430] To this end, though he also criticized his work, Scott consulted Sir Henry Stuart and his text *The Planter's Guide* in order to facilitate transplanting trees to Abbotsford. In order to sooner realize Scott's improvements "it was vital to have some plantation of maturity which would foster the illusion of the antiquity at Abbotsford."[431] Having the whole of the landscape realized more quickly was clearly a concern for Scott, as it was for Repton and many of his clients. The artifice of the Red Book provided an ideal conceptual framework

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Allentuck, "Scott and the Picturesque," *Scott Bicentary Essays*, ed. Alan Bell (Edinburgh, 1973): 188 – 198. It was to Lady Abercorn that he wrote, after the purchase of the future Abbotsford in 1813,"

[429] Tait, *The landscape garden in Scotland,* 204 "The same, rather flippant attitude to the picturesque was true of his feelings about its apologist Repton, whom the Abercorns may have employed along with Sir John Soane at their English home, Bentley Priory. Scott's before and after descriptions of the improvements he had undertaken at Abbotsford were, he pretended, in imitations of Repton's flaps, 'what is & what was which Mr. Repton exhibits by means of that ancient contrivance a raree show omitting only the magnifying glass & substituting his Red Book for the box and strings'." [note 6 misc. prose works of sir walter scott, vol. 21, p. 102].

"Scott shared with Repton an almost evangelical enthusiasm for landscape, and after his acquisition of Abbotsford he was continuously involved in gardening and planting for others, in the siting and laying out of Milton Lockhart, Lanarkshire, in 1829; in the sublime fashion at Craighall Rattray, near Blairgowrie, in the late 1820s (plate 135); and on a ducal scale at Drumlanrig Castle and Bowhill. [note 7. 'A succinct account of Abbotsford is given in John Fleming *Scottish Houses and Gardens open to the Public* (London 1954) pp. 98 - 101.]"

[430] Tait, *The landscape garden in Scotland,* 206.

[431] Tait, *The landscape garden in Scotland,* 207.

for discussing the future realization of the whole from the fragments of the landscape in the present.

FRAGMENTS IN THE LANDSCAPE

That Repton's Red Books come to mind while discussing Abbotsford is especially telling, as certain qualities at Abbotsford call for Scott to summon Repton's imagery and its ability to complete the design, even if only in the visitor's imagination. His desire to realize his designs is especially relevant to create a unified, whole design. What is it about Abbotsford that required framing his visitors' experience in terms of Repton's Red Book images?

In *The Clothing of Clio* (1984), Stephen Bann discusses Abbotsford as an example of shifting attitudes toward the fragment and the whole. According to Bann, Scott's Abbotsford "is a synechdochic assimilation: Abbotsford the less is 'giving birth' to Abbotsford the great, and the earlier part is destined to be subsumed in the unity of the whole."[432] To demonstrate his point, Bann contrasts Abbotsford with Byron's Newstead Abbey. At Newstead, Bann asserts that Byron's project exemplifies a metonymic reduction, an insistence on seeing the whole as a decomposed assembly of fragments. At Abbotsford, however, Scott uses actual fragments of an antique structure, Melrose Abbey, to create his design. The fragments at Abbotsford are part of a whole, it radiates the antiquity and authenticity of Melrose Abbey, transposed into the fabric of Abbotsford. Scott's own 'plantation of maturity' is a further instance in the landscape of this drive towards the unity of the whole.[433]

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[432] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio,* 100.

[433] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio,* 102. Speaking of the pieces of Melrose incorporated in to Scott's architecture: "An object, detached from a greater whole, becomes the part which irradiates a new whole: in strictly rhetorical terms, a metonymic reduction (whole to part) gives place to a process of synechdochic integration (part to whole)."

The ways in which the fragment are addressed and used at Abbotsford recalls the fragmented nature of Repton's Red Book images. These also provide a vision of the whole design Repton proposes, as Loudon indicates when he notes that the whole image under the fragmented flap is naturally preferred. Yet the allure of the fragment and its theatrical association in Scott's critique also indicate an ambivalence about this fragment to whole relationship. While the design may, as Loudon argues, prejudice the viewer toward the whole, the fragmented flap also insists on the inability to see the entirety of the image, before and after. In this manner, Repton's fragment resists a view of the entire process, insisting instead, as Bann says of Newstead, on "a relentless commitment to vision 'part by part'."[434] The fragmented of the whole into parts is also essential to the material of the Red Book images. The landscape as it exists is reduced to the pieces that Repton would change, literally fragmenting the landscape in its visual presentation. These fragments can be removed to provide a pleasurable view of the whole, but they are essential to the function of the Red Books, specifically enacting those proposed changes in the landscape itself.

In its depiction of before and after, the flap also fragments the temporal element of the garden. This is most evident in the Wimpole Red Book on the last plate. On the back of the flap in this image of the southern approach, Repton notes that the trees depicted are already there and merely need time to mature.[435] The Red Book, in effect, allows for these two moments, the present and the idealized future, to exist in shortened succession.

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[434] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio,* 104.
[435] Repton, *Wimpole Hall, Red Book*, Plate 6 verso of flap.

CONCLUSION

Scott's comment uses the Red Book as a metaphor for landscape improvement, while associating it with a theatrical device like the raree show. This flippant comment indicates the profound degree to which this cultural trope was applied to both Repton's work, and through them to the act of visiting and creating a landscape. That this fragmented vision, seeing a landscape part by part, implies a theatrical framework further enforces the impossibility of comprehending the whole all at once, as in a static image. More generally, reception of Repton's work, landscapes and Red Books, rely on his audiences' readiness, even eagerness, to accept the landscape translated through theatrical devices.

As discussed earlier, such devices were clearly effective in persuading the 3rd Earl of Hardwicke to effect Repton's suggestions at Wimpole. The situation there, with the absence of the Earl who must make these decisions through the Red Book itself in a very immediate way, forms an interesting counterpoint to Scott's use of the Red Book as a metaphor. At Wimpole, the landscape was translated into the Red Book, through images and devices that demonstrate the landscape and Repton's suggestions. These theatrical devices allow the Earl, and/or his advisors or managers, to physically and imaginatively test out these changes while in absentia. At Abbotsford, there is no Red Book. The changes are in Scott's mind, and he is describing his physical tours through the landscape and discussions with his guests as a sort of Red Book, which he characterizes as a type of raree show. That is, his thoughts are organized in respect to the landscape according to this theatrical device. The physical presence of Scott and his guests is absolutely essential in that moment, and the Red Book is no longer a material mediator, but forms the very manner of discussing and improving the landscape. Artifice and deception in the

landscape, like the railing in the North Park at Wimpole, "does not effect to be concealed,"[436] but creates a way of experiencing and communicating the landscape.

Though often criticized, these theatrical tricks were also a fundamental aspect of Repton's landscape design theory. As Daniels has noted, "It was through its 'deceptions' that landscape gardening could be classed with 'the polite arts'".[437] Repton readily adopted artificial and deceptive devices to the practice of landscape gardening, as well as its representation. In the *Red Book for Tatton Park*, which was published and made available to the public, he notes,

> We plant a hill, to make it appear higher than it is; we open the banks of a brook to give it the appearance of a river…Nor is the imagination so fastidious as to take offence at any well supported deception, even after the want of reality is discovered. When we are interested at a tragedy, we do not enquire whence the characters are copied: on the contrary, we forget that when we see a Garrick or a Siddons, and join in the sorrows of a Belvidere or a Beverly.[438]

Like the inclusion of the sail at Wimpole to indicate water, Repton's principles rely on a pleasurable deception, which in the above quote he relates explicitly to the theatre. Conjuring Garrick and Siddons associates these landscape deceptions with two of the most lauded theatrical personalities of the day.[439] Garrick's naturalistic depiction of his characters is here equated with the art of the garden, implying that the landscape itself becomes a player that can be made to inhabit a particular character and similarly move the visitor, creating an emotional response.

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[436] Repton, *Wimpole Hall, Red Book*.
[437] Daniels, *Humpry Repton,* 7.
[438] Humphry Repton, *Red Book for Tatton Park* (1792), National Trust, Tatton Park. Cited in Daniels, *Humphry Repton,* 7, note 12.
[439] Leigh Woods, *Garrick Claims the Stage: Acting as Social Emblem in Eighteenth-Century England* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1984).

This principle was so firmly rooted in Repton's work, that he included it in the published designs for the Pavilion at Brighton.[440] The frontispiece to that work shows allegorical depictions of Flora and Winter (fig. 72) with two quotes apparently carved on the stone foundation. The first states "Gardens are works of Art rather than of Nature," presumably Repton's own words. The next is credited to Edmund Burke, from his work on the Sublime; "Designs that are vast only by their dimensions, are always the sign of a common and low imagination; no work of art can be great but as it deceives, to be otherwise is the prerogative of nature only."[441] The evocation of Burke, as well as Shenstone and others as we have seen, aligns Repton's work with prominent theorists, thus elevating him above a mere entertainer. The use of the Burke quote also specifically elevates the very quality of imagination and deception, as well as its application to landscape design.

Repton's use of a fragmented flap recalls the fragmented and temporal qualities of the landscape experience, translated through an illusionary device. In Repton's work, landscape not only includes illusions, but is created or 'improved' through 'theatrical' devices. Rather than an unnecessary trick, these theatrical devices develop into a framework for describing and interacting with landscape spaces. Repton's red books, like Byron's Newstead, provide a spectacle that insists on 'vision part by part'.[442] This part by part aspect of the fragment is also essential to the engagement with fabrication at Wimpole and Schwetzingen. At Wimpole, the fabricated fragment in the form of the Gothic Tower allows for an imaginative and productive engagement with the process of history making. Schwetzingen's fragmentation manifests both physically, in the form of

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[440] Humphry Repton, *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton*. Assisted by John Adey Repton and G.S. Repton (London: T. Bensley, 1808).
[441] Repton, *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton* (1808).
[442] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio,* 104.

the ruined Roman Aqueduct, and in the embodied experience. That embodied experience that emphasizes process and progression over visual mastery and simultaneity is also a key element to Repton's visual devices. The fragmented and temporal qualities of the landscape require translation, through the use of a theatrical medium, in order to create a representation that comes closer to the 'true' landscape experience. In Repton's Red Books, illusion develops from a frame for experiencing the real, into the mediator that creates the most 'real' or true experience translated into two-dimensional media.

In the emphasis on deceit and artifice, Repton is distinguishing the landscape garden from pure, even perfected nature. In Repton's estimation, the use of theatrical illusions in representation, and artifice or a pleasurable deception in the landscape, is always preferred, as noted in defense of adding a Sail to the artificial lakes at Wimpole. He is explicit about the need for artifice to make a good landscape. Landscape gardens are supposed to be an illusion. It is, in many ways, a theatrical illusion made manifest. The emphasis on deception and artifice, and the reliance on imagination as the chief indicator of a noble or liberal art, gives Repton a motive for wanting to be clear about the Art of the landscape garden. The deceptive illusionism of the Red Book representation, far from being an unnecessary deception, draws from the theatricality inherent in the landscape itself. In so doing, it reinforces that connection. Representing the garden through deceptive and theatrical devices further embeds the connotation of the landscape as a medium of illusion and imagination.

Chapter 4: Un Diorama Naturel: The Diorama and Daguerre's Gardens at Bry-sur-Marne

Writing in the late nineteenth century, Adrien Mentienne's *La Decouverte de la Photographie* (1892) offers an intriguing tangent, wherein he describes a landscape designed by Louis-Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787 – 1851) as 'un diorama naturel'.[443] This turn of phrase neatly links the famous artist and inventor to the writer's hometown, Bry-sur-Marne, where Daguerre spent the last years of his life. Beyond this, Mentienne's characterization of the landscape as a 'diorama' offers new insights into the qualities of both the Diorama from the early nineteenth century, and its relation to the landscapes and picturesque spaces it tended to show. The characterization of a landscape as a natural manifestation of the diorama illusion reveals the implicit connections between such spectacles and landscape garden design by the nineteenth century.

Part of the argument presented here is that the Diorama derives its effect from landscape garden viewing practices and aesthetics as much as from theatrical precedents. As shown in previous chapters, especially in the discussion of Schwetzingen and Repton's Red Books, theater and the landscape garden were intertwined in terms of both design and experiential expectations during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Considering the diorama takes this one step further, by examining a form of visual spectacle that capitalized on that very interconnectedness, as is evident in its design and reception.

The Diorama is a frequent touchstone for histories of both cinema and photography. Most discussions of the diorama place it in a secondary role to Daguerre's work with photography, as in one of the seminal works on Daguerre during the twentieth

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[443] Adrienne Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie en 1839* (Paris: Imprimerie Paul Dupont, 1892).

century, Helmut and Alison Gernsheim's *L.J.M. Daguerre: The History of the Diorama and the Daguerreotype* (1968).[444] This work foregrounds a biographical approach that culminates in invention of photography. Stephen Pinson's 2012 work, *Speculating Daguerre,* gives a broader view of the artist's various works. Pinson's text links Daguerre more thoroughly to his background as a theater set designer, while also giving an excellent analysis of the social and economic contexts that drove much of Daguerre's work. Most importantly for this project, Pinson also notes the connection between the Diorama and other landscape garden aesthetics, such as Daguerre's involvement with Charles Nodier's *Voyages Pittoresques* (1820 – 1878). Pinson expands this involvement with to spectacular or theatrical landscapes, as evident at the Wauxhall in Paris, and the Jardin Monceau as designed by Louis Carrogis Carmontelle.[445] The following builds on Pinson's work in two ways, by shifting the focus to the reception of the London Diorama, and by expanding on the little-discussed landscape garden at Bry-sur-Marne.

Pinson's work focuses almost exclusively on the design and development of the Diorama in Paris. Many of the reasons he gives for the Diorama's success are particular to the conditions there. This chapter expands on that premise by considering the experience and reception of the Diorama in London. The London Diorama is foregrounded in various works by R. Derek Wood, who has developed an in-depth

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[444] Helmut Gernsheim, and Alison Gernsheim. *L.J.M. Daguerre: The History of the Diorama and the Daguerreotype*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc, 1968.

[445] Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 57 – 59. Carmontelle's jardin Monceau in Paris was designed as a series of tableaux, which, as Pinson notes, "Carmontelle envisioned…as a kind of annex to the salon, a space of social amusement and instruction where one learns 'to see' as an artist". Pinson goes on to argue that Daguerre was likely familiar with Carmonelle's works, as Daguerre's wife was born near Monceau. Carmontelle's transparencies were also well known, and a work by Carmontelle was shown alongside Daguerre's version of *Holyrood* in 1829 at the Galerie Lebrun. Given Pinson's well-argued and thoroughly documented connection between the diorama's design and Carmontelle's work, the following analysis will focus on elements of the diorama's design that have not yet been fully examined in the literature; the synaesthetic, embodied experience of this visual entertainment.

analysis of the design and context of the diorama in Britain generally.[446] Shifting the focus from design to experience, and from Paris to London, opens up the following analysis to consider the ways in which the diorama was understood in relation to garden-based aesthetics and experiences as they developed in England and the English landscape garden in particular.

The connection between the English landscape garden and the Diorama has been proposed before, most prominently by scholars of English literature. In *England's Ruins* (1990) Anne Janowitz convincing argues a connection between the fascination with ruins in the landscape and the fragmentary form of the Diorama.[447] These are then used as a basis for analyzing poetic fragments and literary forms. Sophie Thomas's 2008 *Romanticism and Visuality* expands on this premise, as does Inger Sigrun Brodey's *Ruined by Design*, published in the same year.[448] This chapter develops on that premise by considering the material qualities of the diorama and giving further emphasis to the reception of those shows. Despite the emphasis in these works on the diorama's relation to the landscape, only Pinson mentions Daguerre' work in Bry-sur-Marne, whose discussion is primarily limited to a catalog entry on one of the drawings for the garden.

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[446] R. Derek Wood, "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s," *History of Photography*, vol. 17, no. 3 (Autumn 1993): 284 – 295. http://www.midley.co.uk/index.htm
R. Derek Wood, "Daguerre and his Diorama in the 1830s: some financial announcements," *Photoresearcher (European Society for the History of Photography*), No 6 (1994/95/96): 35-40. http://www.midley.co.uk/diorama/Diorama_Wood_2.htm
R. Derek Wood, "The Diorama: some images," *History of Photography*, v. 17. no. 3 (Autumn, 1993): 284 - 295. Also in 1997 in *Photoresearcher*. no. 6 (1994/95/96): 35 – 40. http://www.midley.co.uk/diorama/Diorama_Wood_3.htm

[447] Anne Janowitz, *England's Ruins: Poetic Purpose and the National Landscape* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, Inc., 1990).

[448] Sophie Thomas, *Romanticism and Visuality: Fragments, History, Spectacle* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008). And, Inger Sigrun Brodey, *Ruined by Design: Shaping Novels and Gardens in the Culture of Sensibility* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008).

While the Diorama has garnered some scholarly attention, the Bry-sur-Marne landscape garden is rarely mentioned in the literature at all. Where it does appear, there is considerable confusion about its design and qualities, with little to no analysis of the space. The following builds on the considerable work already done on the Diorama and then places it in comparison with Daguerre's garden Adrien Mentienne's commentary. To establish this analysis, the following chapter is divided into two sections. The first discusses the official Diorama as established by Daguerre and his business partner Charles-Marie Bouton (1781 – 1853) in the 1820s. This creates a foundation for an analysis of a Diorama-style painting by Daguerre in the Église Saint Gervais et Saint Protais, and the landscape garden, both in Bry-sur-Marne.

By foregrounding reception, the following indicates that the Diorama relied on a particular kind of illusion that was not merely a *trompe l'oeil*. Rather, as Margaret Calvarin, the curator of the Musée Adrien Mentienne noted, these dioramas created a window into a fictive reality that is no less 'true' for all that it is an illusion.[449] The realization of the landscape garden, and its framing as a natural diorama, brings this type of illusion full circle, by creating a 'real', that is physical, space understood as a realized diorama scene.

PART 1: THE DIORAMA

Jacques-Louis-Mandé Daguerre and Charles Marie Bouton created the Diorama as a theater without actors, where the scene was the entirety of the show. Drawing from Daguerre's remarkable success as a set designer and painter at the Paris Opéra and the Ambigu-Comique, as well as Bouton's abilities and reputation as a landscape painter, this

[449] Interview with Mme Margaret Calvarin, Director of the Musée Adrienne Mentienne, Bry-sur-Marne, France, June 2014, Bry-sur-Marne.

new form of entertainment intended to showcase, and exploit, the artistic and spectacular nature of the stage that pushed at the boundaries of then-current categorizations.[450]

The Paris diorama began with an agreement made on April 25, 1821 between Daguerre and Bouton.[451] The first official Diorama opened in Paris in 1822.[452] A year later, the spectacle found enthusiastic audiences across the channel when it opened in London in 1823.[453] As the Diorama spectacle relies on implicitly theatrical designs, much of this analysis will rely on theories of theatricality, performance, and material. Pinson has already noted the extent to which the Paris diorama was drawn from theatrical and even landscape garden precedents, and the following builds on that work to establish a visual and theoretical analysis of how the London Diorama was received during the

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[450] Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 42. Pinson's work also establishes a fairly comprehensive biography of the artist, building from several sources including: Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie,* Georges Potonniée, *Daguerre, peintre et décorateur* (Paris: Paul Montel, 1935). Gernsheim and Gernsheim, *L.J.M. Daguerre*. I have therefore avoided any biographical information that is not directly relevant to my study.

[451] Derek Wood, "Daguerre and his Diorama in the 1830s: some financial announcements," 3 – 40.

[452] Several shows appeared in the various 'official' Dioramas of Paris, London, etc. ('official' denotes those by Bouton and Daguerre, and later Sebron, shown in the spaces designed specifically for them.) As the works were painted by Daguerre and Bouton in their Paris studio, the Paris Diorama benefited from these shows first. Canvases were then rolled up and sent to the London Diorama, where they appeared a year or two after their Parisian debut. Depending on the show, its popularity and/or subject matter, the canvases were sometimes sent to the official Dioramas set up in Liverpool, Dublin, and/or Edinburgh. R. Derek Wood has compiled considerable data on which canvases showed where and when, especially in Great Britain. These lists were first published in the History of Photography, and are also available on an archived website. His work builds from the data compiled by Georges Potoinée, who published a relatively comprehensive catalogue of the Paris diorama shows. As well as work from Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie,* 101. "Ayant fait la connaissance de Bouton, il conçut l'idée d'un établissement panoramique où l'éclairage interviendrait pour ajouter la mobilité des effets aux charmes de la couleur. Il demanda à ce peintre de s'associer avec lui, et ils inventèrent une véritable merveille, qui reçut le nom de Diorama." Huhtamo insists that the Diorama was actually Bouton's idea, though the archives are not conclusive one way or the other. This is present in some of his work, but was explicitly stated in a personal discussion, April 2017, and which he indicated will be further discussed in his forthcoming text.

[453] Sophie Thomas, *Romanticism and Visuality*. And, Wood, "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s,". Both make a considerable case that the London Diorama was not an extension of Daguerre's enterprise. Though the identity of the London Diorama's proprietors is still unclear, Daguerre and Bouton's involvement, until the 1830s, was in the execution of the artworks and their arrangements/shows in Paris. Wood has even gone as far as to theorize that the shows were sold, not lent or merely travelled between the two spaces. By the 1830s, the connection is more secure, with Bouton's direct involvement as manager. This indicates a continuity with the original Diorama society in Paris, if not a direct connection.

height of its popularity in the 1820s and 1830s. Daguerre and Bouton's shows capitalized on an appetite for experiences of the wider world whetted by nearly a century of armchair travel, picturesque tours, excavations and archaeological discoveries, grand tours, and earlier urban spectacles.[454] The show brought scenes from around the world and from different times into the confines of the modern-day city.

Daguerre's career began with successes in theatrical scene painting.[455] In the early 1800s he was apprenticed to Ignacio Degotti, chief painter of the Paris Opera.[456] Eventually he became the chief decorator for the Ambigu-Comique, and joint chief decorator for the Opera. As Stephen Pinson notes in *Speculating Daguerre,* Daguerre's theatrical sets were so well received that they often eclipsed the show they accompanied.[457] Beyond his career in theater, Daguerre aspired to the fine arts while assisting with other artistic and/or spectacular projects. He provided drawings for Nodier's *Voyages Pittoresques*, first published in 1821. The prints made from his sketches are included in several volumes, though his participation in each is limited relative to the much more visible involvement of other artists. Daguerre's contributions to the 1820 volume include a lithograph of the *Ruines de l'Abbaye de Jumièges, Coté du Nord*, and a print of an interior view of *Eglise d'Harfleur*.[458] He also assisted Pierre

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454 Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 75 – 6. A concise history of the most pertinent spectacles predating the diorama. Other noted sources on this topic include: Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (London and Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978). Stephan Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium*. Translated by Deborah Lucas Schneider (New York: Zone Books, 1997). Ralph Hyde, *Panoramania!* (London: Trefoil Publications, Barbican Art Gallery, 1988). And, Wood, "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s,".

455 Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie,* 101.

456 Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 14.

457 Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* Also Wood, "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s,".

458 Charles Nodier, Justin Taylor, and Alphonse de Cailleux. *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*. 24 volumes (Paris: De L'Imprimerie de Firmin-Didot et C^{ie}, 1820 – 1878) vol. 1, 1820, Plates 12 and 45 respectively.

Prevost in painting the panoramas of Rome, Naples, London, Jerusalem, and Athens all shown in Paris.[459]

Stephen Pinson has convincingly argued that the Diorama was a space in which Daguerre attempted to achieve a reputation as an artist. His salon paintings received lukewarm receptions, and his work at the Opera and the Ambigu-Comique overshadowed these attempts to participate in the artistic elite.[460] Though he has since been eclipsed by Daguerre's reputation, Bouton was the better-known artist when they started the Diorama. Bouton was well known as an accomplished painter of interiors and had already achieved success in that genre at the Salon. His involvement in Daguerre's project lent the spectacle an air of refinement, and a closer link to the higher arts of the Salon.[461]

The Paris Diorama was built behind the Place du Chateau d'Eau, now the Place de la Republic, in rue Samson at the corner of rue des Marais.[462] Across Rue Samson from the Diorama was the Wauxhall (fig. 73).[463] On July 11, 1822 the first Diorama show opened with *La Vallée de Sarnen* by Daguerre and *La Chapelle de la Trinité dans l'Église de Canterbury* by Bouton.[464] On its first showing the Diorama offered experiences of far-off places right in the heart of Paris. By contrast, for example, the opening of the Panorama featured a view of Paris that could easily be compared with the reality around the exhibition site in order to establish a trust with the public.[465] Rather

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459 Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie,* 101. Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 9, n. 65 (endnote on p. 239).
460 Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 93.
461 Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 95.
462 Wood, "Daguerre and his Diorama in the 1830s," 35 – 40.
463 Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 44. "The hall was especially known for its picturesque garden behind the building, the rear face of which was decorated with a Gothic colonnade. The garden itself ended with a false perspective painted by Moench, which had lost its vigor by the 1820s."
464 Wood, "Daguerre and his Diorama in the 1830s," 35 – 40.
465 Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 32.

than a record of details for inspection, the Diorama's debut scenes offered an experience that did not offer, or rely on, such immediate verification of verisimilitude.

Plans for the London diorama were set in motion shortly after the Paris debut, and the so-called Regent's Park Diorama opened in 1823.[466] According to R. Derek Wood, the London Diorama was owned and run by as-yet unidentified English proprietors separate from the Diorama Society established by Daguerre and Bouton in Paris.[467] While the Paris Diorama building contained three viewing spaces, two for show and the third as a studio space to create the paintings, the London building held two canvases, each in its own separate viewing space.[468] In London, the third space was unnecessary, as the images were painted in Paris and exhibited there first before they were shipped to London. A floor plan published by Britton and Pugin in *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London*, (fig. 74) shows the overall layout of the London Diorama.[469] As indicated in this image, the entrance from Park Square leads into a vestibule where the visitors could wait and enjoy the various portraits and paintings hung there until they could enter the show. These included copies of works by old and modern masters of

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466 Wood. "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s," 284 - 295.

467 Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 99. Pinson notes the involvement of a 'James Smith', along with the collaboration of the architect Augustus C. Pugin. (endnote 29: "James Smith was the publisher of the Paris *Monthly Reivew* which reviewed the first Paris Diorama exhibition in the August 1822 edition; G. "The Diorama," vol. 2, no. 7 (August 1822): 441"). Presumably the ownership of the London Diorama remained in the hands of the unidentified English proprietors, with Bouton employed as manager and painter" later in the 1830s after Bouton moved to England. Wood. "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s".
Saunders notes in her history of Regent's park that this park of the neighborhood was owned and developed by Jacob Smith in 1823, with the interior planned by AC Pugin and James Morgan. Ann Saunders, *Regents Park: a study of the development of the area from 1086 to the present day*. (New York: A.M. Kelley, 1969): 130.

468 The large paintings, which had to take the possible lighting effects into account, had to be created in the third wing of the Paris studio, but as the completed works travelled, those buildings only needed the two showrooms, explaining the different architectural between the Paris and London buildings.

469 John Britton and Augustus C. Pugin, *Ilustrations of the Public Buildings of London. With historical and descriptive accounts of each edifice,* vol. 1, plate opposite p. 70, London: J. Taylor, 1825. Reprinted in Wood, "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s,".

painting.[470] While this was a strategic move linking the Diorama to the fine arts through the representation of old and modern masters, it also creates a point of comparison for the diorama show. The traditional artworks create an aesthetic experience that frames and is contrasted with the spectacular show waiting inside in the rotunda.[471]

Doors opened between shows to allow visitors to enter so as not to let in light and thereby ruin the illusion. These doors led to a circular Salon where the audience sat, which was mounted on a rotating platform patented in London by John Arrowsmith, Daguerre's brother-in-law through his wife, Louise Georgina Daguerre (née Arrowsmith).[472] Given the patent and the close family ties, it is possible that Arrowsmith had a hand in creating the same mechanism for the Paris Diorama. On the other hand, the architect of the Paris Diorama building, Pierre Magloire Chatelain, was the same who in 1818 developed the 'Montagnes artificielles', an early nineteenth century predecessor of the roller coaster.[473] It is therefore well within Chatelain's *oeuvre* to have helped devise the platform and mechanism, while Arrowsmith may have merely applied for the British patent on behalf of Daguerre and those involved with the Diorama. Daguerre and Bouton may have initially developed the diorama, but its implementation relied on a tightly knit group of artists and inventors, to such an extent that it is difficult to say where the ideas or execution of one begins or ends.

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[470] Altick, *The Shows of London,* 164. Also noted in a review from the *Morning Chronicle*, "The Mirror of Fashion," (Friday, November 7, 1823). Altick lists many of the 'masters' whose works were represented, which included: Reynolds, Poussin, west, Ruisdael, Vernet, Claude Lorrain, Rembrandt, Berghem, Rubens, Teniers, Leonardo, Raphael, and Gainsborough.

[471] The juxtaposition of the diorama show with these more traditional artworks recalls the variety of illusions that frame the experience of the *jardin anglais* at Schwetzingen.

[472] Wood, "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s," 284 – 295. According to Wood, the amphitheater could hold up to 300 people.

[473] In most accounts, the architect of the Diorama is only noted as Chatelain, for example see Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie,* 101. Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 42. Pinson directly relates Pierre M. Chatelain, the inventor of the *montagnes artificielles,* predecessor of the Roller Coaster, with the Diorama architect. Notes on the Paris Diorama architect only note "Chatelain, architecte", and Pierre Magloire Chatelain is the most well-known architect/inventor working in/near Paris during the period.

The patent, issued in 1824 shows a plan and elevation for the building, as well as detailed drawings of the turning mechanism (fig. 75).[474] The primary claim to originality in the patent relies on the mechanism and rotating platform, describing the whole building and its various mechanism as a new way to display pictures. Granted in 1824, and first published in 1825, the patent acknowledged John Arrowsmith's claim to "An Improved mode of publicly exhibiting pictures or painted scenery of every description, and of distributing or directing the Daylight upon or through them, so as to produce many beautiful effects of light and shade, which I denominate a 'diorama'."[475] This new mode of display relied on a particularly constructed building that enhanced the entire experience, complete with the revolving rotunda and the manipulation of light on the images. The Diorama building, as shown in the patent plans, and in a floorplan published by Britton and Pugin, included an entrance vestibule, a circular viewing platform, and two rectangular viewing areas set obliquely to one another.[476] Once on the platform, visitors had a choice between the boxes at the back, which were slightly more expensive and thus more exclusive, and the front auditorium seating, providing space for the regular price of two shillings.[477]

From this seating area, the paintings were viewed through a large, controlled aperture, noted in (fig. 76) at the line labeled *S*. The view was further guided by an

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[474] John Arrowsmith's British Diorama Patent, no. 4899, feb. 10, 1824. The earliest publication of the patent: John Arrowsmith, "Specification of the patent granted to John Arrowsmith ... for an improved mode of publicly exhibiting pictures or painted scenery ... which he denominates diorama," *Repertory of Arts, Manufactures, and Agriculture*. v. 46, 2d ser. (April, 1825): 257 – 265. Also reprinted in Wood, "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s,".

[475] Arrowsmith, "Specification of the patent granted to John Arrowsmith," 257 – 264, plate 10.

[476] Britton and Pugin, *Ilustrations of the Public Buildings of London,* vol. 1 plate opposite p. 70. Published by J Taylor: London, 1825. Re-published in Wood, "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s,".

[477] Gernsheim and Gernsheim, *L.J.M. Daguerre*, 19. And *Diorama, Regent's Park : Description of the two pictures now exhibiting, viz. a scene in the valley of Rosenlaui, Bernese Oberland and the interior of the Church of Santa Croce, at Florence*. (London: T. Brettell, 1848). Held at the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

enclosure, indicated in Arrowsmith's designs by lines *a* and *b*. Rather than requiring the spectators to move between images, the platform was designed to pivot, approximately 73 degrees, to change between scenes.[478] Also used in Paris, this rotating platform allowed the audience to be transported from scene to scene without having to move. Some critics and reviewers at the time noted that the rotating platform was a relatively useless device, merely saving the audience from walking between the images.[479] Given the emphasis put on employing this device, and the reaction of viewers, further analysis indicates that the viewing platform was indeed an integral part of the overall illusion.

While the platform was an important feature, the majority of the patent describes various blinds, colored and clear glass, shutters used to control the light, and the mechanics of the revolving platform. The floorplan included with the patent (fig. 75) depicts the circular viewing platform, as well as the two distinct viewing spaces for each painting. The stage opening indicated at *C* allows a limited view of the larger painting, hung at *B*. The extension of the image beyond the frame aided the illusion of space beyond the opening. Like the Perspektiv at Schwetzingen, the space between the opening and the painting allowed for various lighting effects, in this case light that could be directed on the front and back of the semi-translucent painting to illuminate the two effects accordingly. To the right, the elevation details the system of pulleys that operated the various colored blinds and shutters, as well as the system that turned the rotunda platform.

All the works described in the patent relate to the building and its mechanisms. But the point of this elaborate setup was to show the paintings that were specifically designed to take full advantage of the diorama building and mechanisms to create a

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[478] Arrowsmith. "Specification of the patent granted to John Arrowsmith," 263.
[479] *Times* (London). "Diorama," October 4, 1823, 3.

forceful illusion. The painting itself was a combination of opaque and translucent pigments on a specially treated canvas or scrim. The front, that is the side of the canvas facing the audience, held one effect or view, and the modifications that created the alternate effect were painted on the back. When the light was manipulated to fall at different levels either on the front and/or the back, using the windows above or behind respectively, the painting appeared first one way and then altered.[480]

As Stephen Pinson argues, Daguerre used specific types of perspective developed for the theatre by Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni (1695 - 1766) to heighten the illusionary quality of his Diorama paintings. R. Derek Wood has also pointed out that such theatrical set designs were already familiar to London audiences through Servandoni's work with Covent Garden, as well as de Loutherbourg's work at the Drury Theatre and various other imitators.[481] Unlike the theatre, however, there are no actors in the Diorama, save for the audience themselves. Absence of any actor required heightened attention to the illusions of movement and change within the scene itself. It left a space for the viewer to become the actor, to imaginatively involve themselves in the scene.

This effect was achieved in the composition of the painting by reversing the traditional perspective so that the vanishing point converged on the viewer, as well as employing oblique perspectives that cut across the stage.[482] The viewer, in effect, becomes the vanishing point, involving them in the scene and creating the scene of a vast space beyond the pictorial plane. Use of these visual techniques necessarily prompts the

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480 Louis-Jacques Mandé Daguerre, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Daguerreotype and the Diorama* (Facsimile of London: Nutt, Bookseller, Fleet Street, 1839. Reprinted New York: Kraus, 1969): 81 – 86.

481 Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 18 – 19. And Wood. "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s," 284 – 295.

482 Pinson makes a similar argument in Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 18. He characterizes this as a reversal of the traditional viewing pyramid.

audience to participate visually and imaginatively, as the painting literally converges on and integrates the viewer's position. Given the control of the viewer's position in the seating area, the Diorama paintings took full advantage of these perspectival devices, which become hyperbolic outside of the carefully constructed viewpoint.

The techniques to create the illusion of the Diorama were familiar as theatrical elements. As R. Derek Wood pointes out, seeing such techniques employed would necessarily create comparisons with theater in addition to the efforts to connect it with the fine arts. "They were providing scenic illusions familiar to London audiences since earlier masters such as Loutherbourg."[483] Loutherbourg's Eidophusikon has, with good reason, been linked to the Diorama as a potential predecessor. Considerably smaller, the Eidophusikon relied on similar principles of light and movement. In de Loutherbourg's work, however, effects were created with colored glass and lamps, while movement was created by mounting the backdrop on rollers that could be turned.[484]

London and Paris hosted many such entertainments in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[485] The Eidophusikon, Panorama, Cosmorama, and several other smaller 'oramic' enterprises had already created an entire category into which one might expect the Diorama to fall. Yet, as Stephen Pinson points out, in Paris at the least categorization was not so easy. Though a 'spectacle', the Diorama was primarily a means of depicting painted images, and therefore was also an artistic endeavor. Both art and spectacle, the diorama fell between the then-established government ministries governing particular works of art or spectacle.[486] What Pinson does not discuss is that what set this

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[483] Wood. "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s," 284 – 295.
[484] Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 20. Pinson's work includes an excellent list of similar spectacles with brief descriptions in the decades preceding and during the Diorama.
[485] These devices, and their precedence for the diorama, have been firmly established. See Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre*. Also, Stafford and Terpak. *Devices of Wonder*. And, Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion*.
[486] See Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre*, 42.

show apart from the many previous and contemporary spectacles or exhibitions was its experiential aspect. The following will demonstrate that the diorama created a total experience complete with the elements of movement and time.

The diorama relies on light as a medium. Daguerre himself referred to it in these terms, as an integral part of the Diorama paintings.[487] In order to take full advantage of natural light during the show, the Diorama building was constructed with two wings attached to an entrance hall, and each 'wing' housed a Diorama painting, or view. This elevation (fig. 77) is a synthesis of the Arrowsmith patent plans and a 'visitor interpretation' showing a cross section of one wing. To the left is the seating area, decorated with curtains and wall hangings and indicating the two levels of seating: boxes to the back and auditorium seating to the front. At line *a* is the opening leading to the diorama painting. Note that the painting is not mounted on the wall, rather it is hung at line *b* in a carefully constructed space beyond the opening. The painting extended beyond the frame of this opening to heighten the sense that it extended beyond the space, more like a window than a picture frame.

Above the 'stage' space where the painting hangs there is a window in the roof controlled by shutters that can be closed or opened at will by pulleys. Behind the painting is a large series of windows. Light from these windows can be modified and controlled by the shutters, scrims, etc. noted between lines *b* and *d*. Natural daylight was allowed to enter the stage space by precise manipulations of these windows in order to allow for maximum changes in lighting that would create the illusion of movement between effects in each scene. Artificial light was used occasionally but, as the devastating fire at the

[487] Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Various Processes of the Daguerréotype and the Diorama*, (London: Nutt, Bookseller, Fleet Street, 1839): 85 – 86. criticizing painters for failing to paint atmosphere correctly, he says that they "falsely attribute these alterations to a variation in their manner of seeing, and colour falsely, while in reality the change is in medium – in the light."

Paris Diorama in 1839 demonstrated, such techniques were often dangerous and unpredictable.[488] Instead, the show relied primarily on windows and shutters, allowing natural day light into the darkened space in a carefully controlled manner, as specified in the patent description.[489]

To this was added various sensory effects, depending on the view shown. For instance, during the showing of *Santa Croce*, a so-called 'Machine Organ' played the Kyrie from Haydn's Mass no. 1, while during its pair, the *Valley of Rosenlaui,* the organ played "The Swiss Hunter".[490] Such effects were noted in the pamphlet given for the performance, often accompanied by didactic information concerning the subject on view.[491]

From its first show, the London Diorama was immensely popular. At 2 shillings per entry, the show was not cheap, but well within the means of 'fashionable society'.[492] The show was so popular that, as R Derek Wood points out, in 1829 the London Omnibus original route from Paddington to the Bank in the City of London went via Regent's Park, and the Diorama was prominently featured "on a panel on the side of Shillibeer's Omnibus".[493]

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488 Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 151. The Diorama in Paris burned down, along with the majority of Daguerre's works and his laboratory March 8th, 1839.

489 *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*. "The Diorama - Ruins in a Fog," v. 9, no. 260 (Saturday, June 30, 1827): 425 – 426. The space of the Diorama was darkened in order to heighten the effects of the light, which also caused the space itself to dissolve into a not-quite-distinct space between. "The magic of this effect of light is indeed most extraordinary, and the illusion is complete and enchanting."

490 Effects noted in the Pamphlet for the performance. *Diorama, Regent's Park* (1848).

491 For example, *Diorama, Regent's Park: description of the two pictures now exhibiting, viz. the Basilica of St. Paul, near Rome, and the village of Alagna, in Piedmont, painted by le chevalier Bouton*. London: Romney, c. 1837. The Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, ND 2882 D56 1837 HRC-P.

492 According to the Currency Converter on the National Archives website, this equates to approximately 5 GBP today. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/

493 Wood, "The Diorama: some images," 35 – 40.

Contextualizing the Space: The Diorama and Regent's Park

London's Diorama took full advantage of its placement at 18 Park Square East in the newly constructed neighborhood of Regent's Park, shown in this map from 1827 (fig. 78) The diorama is noted in the lower right corner of the map along Park Crescent street. The building was blended with the rest of the neighborhood by use of a façade designed under the direction of architect John Nash and the proximity of the park itself arguably bolstered the Diorama's visibility and success.[494] Augustus C. Pugin, working closely with Nash, Daguerre, and likely others involved in the Paris Diorama, designed and built a site-specific space for the spectacle.[495] The shape and angle of the building takes advantage of the variety of sunlight. A 2015 image of the site (fig. 79) shows the remaining shell of the diorama building. Large windows on the eastern façade, facing into the courtyard, are illuminated by the angle of the sun. The surrounding buildings visually integrate the peculiarly shaped structure into the fabric of the neighborhood.

By the time the Diorama came to London, John Nash's work on Regent's Park was well under way. Until the early nineteenth century, the area was mostly farm and parkland and was considered part of the countryside. In the early 1800s plans were proposed to develop the area as part of a project to expand the city.[496] By redesigning the roads leading to Westminster and London city proper, the Regent's park area offered a countryside retreat within half an hour of the city center. John Nash, the same architect that partnered with Humphry Repton, was by that time a favorite of the Prince Regent,

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[494] Wood, "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s," 284 – 295. "In London the Regent's Park Diorama advertised extremely rarely in newspapers, presumably depending more frugally on hand bills and street-placard displays".

[495] Wood, "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s,". Also published in Britton and Pugin, *Ilustrations of the Public Buildings of London*.

[496] Saunders, *Regent's Park,* 10.

later George IV, and received the commission for redesigning and building the neighborhood.[497]

In his early designs for the park Nash and his assistant, Augustus C. Pugin, drew up 'panoramic views' of the estate; wide views of the park neighborhood as Pugin and Nash imagined it.[498] Ann Saunders argues that those images indicate that Nash's design "brought the picturesque to town and had created the first garden city."[499] By 'picturesque', Saunders refers to a colloquialism, the ideal countryside as understood by contemporaries.[500] Though the project underwent several difficulties, by 1823 all of the houses planned and built in the neighborhood were purchased or let.[501] The idea was to create a self-contained village, centered around the idyllic parkland, that would draw a fashionable class of inhabitants.

Regent's park was designed to create a space that integrated the city and the country. The liminal quality of the space as a mediator between the countryside and the city is evident in a handheld Panorama of Regent's park, dated 1831 and currently held at the Yale Center for British Art.[502] The view measures 568 cm in length, and is contained

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[497] Saunders, *Regent's Park*, 86.

[498] Saunders, *Regent's Park*, 86. Two panoramas of the estate as envisaged by John Nash c. 1810. "on them are notes and remarks in French; probably they were the work of Augustus Charles Pugin, who for some years was Nash's assistant… Glanced at casually, the panoramas seem nothing more than clever advertising, but in fact they contain the key to Nash's concept of what the Park was to be. He had brought the picturesque to town and had created the first garden city."

[499] Saunders, *Regent's Park,* 86.

[500] Saunders, *Regent's Park,* 87. "The eighteenth-century theory of houses laid out round a square, related to each other in an orderly manner, with wilder, more individual more picturesque ideal, with each dwelling enjoying an apparently exclusive stretch of parkland. Nash combined the orderliness of Georgian London with the openness, the wildness, of the countryside. He mated the town with the country, the palace with the ordinary dwelling-house, and made a new London of an old park."

[501] Saunders, *Regent's Park,* 101.

[502] S. H. Hughes, Richard Morris, and Rudolph Ackermann. *Panoramic View Round the Regent's Park*. Engraved by SH Hughes after drawings by Richard Morris. Yale Center for British Art, Rare Books and Manuscripts, DA685.R43 H84 1831Flat. Hand-colored aquatint, 10cm x 568 cm (unrolled) in a wooden drum (10 x 6cm). Essentially, a moving panorama in miniature, for handheld use. See Erkki Huhtamo's work on the moving panorama in *Illusions in Motion*.

in a 10 cm x 6 cm drum. When unrolled, (fig. 80) the first views of the park begin in the countryside, indicating that at this time the Regent's Park neighborhood was very much on boundary between country and city. As the view continues to unroll, the hills and dirt paths give way to larger streets and modern buildings with neoclassical façades (fig. 81). Groups of fashionably dressed visitors decorate the foreground, while text below the image labels points of interest such as the Coliseum. In the middle of the Panorama is Park Crescent, the closest point to the city. Here in the middle of the panoramic print the Diorama façade can be seen just above the "Park Square East" label, at the corner of the Crescent and the Park proper (fig. 82).

Though the park itself was opened to the public only gradually beginning in 1835, residents and others with permission used the park frequently.[503] The design of the area was such that a visitor need not enter the park to take advantage of the open area and scenery. The road that borders the park was left open to the view for the benefit of the houses that looked in, across the road, onto the park. This road was always open to the public and allowed anyone visiting the area to take in the picturesque scenery. Visitors to the Diorama would enjoy such scenes on the way into and out of the show.

Connecting interior and exterior was an integral part of the Diorama spectacle. The diorama usually showed two scenes; an interior view and an exterior. Stephen Pinson, in his work on Daguerre, relates this to the vogue for both picturesque views as well as interior scenes during the period, as part of Daguerre's desire to be recognized as an artist, and not merely a man of industry.[504] Pinson's argument is convincing, and Daguerre's entire oeuvre did benefit from this curious combination of honest artistic

[503] Saunders, *Regent's Park,* 146.
[504] Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 31.

ambition and keen business insight. Yet the combination of interior and exterior views has further implications beyond merely referencing the academy.

The combined effect of the darkened interior chamber, the layered painting techniques, and the manipulation of natural light create the illusion of movement in the scene. Such movements indicate time and manifest illusionistic realities in both interior and exterior scenes. With this effect, the Diorama achieved what every few spectacles or artistic works managed by this point; convincing the audience of having been transported to another space, whether interior or exterior, despite their physical presence inside. Many reviews, especially of the shows, repeat *ad nauseam* the frequency with which spectators were convinced that the diorama was no painting at all, but a window![505]

Combining interior and exterior views and the evocation of movement and time, the diorama avoided one of the primary critiques of other illusions; the static quality of the image.[506] The site of the London diorama in particular encouraged such confusion in its placement. Walking to or from the diorama, the visitor passed the edge of Regent's park. The picturesque scenery of the park melds with the experience of the diorama itself, reinforcing the illusion of the show as a window into nature rather than manmade trompe l'oeil.

At the Diorama: Site and Experience

> The magic of this effect of light is indeed most extraordinary, and the illusion is complete and enchanting.[507]

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505 Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie*.
506 This was an oft-made comparison between the Diorama and the Panorama. Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 76.
507 *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*. "The Diorama - Ruins in a Fog," v. 9, no. 260 (Saturday, June 30, 1827): 425 – 426.

> Even after the spectator is advised that he is looking at a flat surface, the illusion is so strong, that it is almost impossible to believe the fact…The whole thing is nature itself.[508]

Magic, illusion, enchantment, and nature pervade many of the descriptions of the Diorama shows in London. Though at times hyperbolic, praise for the Diorama shows in London remains relatively consistent over time and across several different types of reviews. The language of enchantment, combined with a forceful illusion of reality, mark the general experience of the Diorama shows during the height of its popularity in the 1820s and 1830s.

In a review from April 22nd, 1830, *the Times* described the diorama as "more like the illusions of enchantment than the mere creations of art".[509] Distinguishing illusions and enchantment from art is a loaded rhetorical move indicating a separation between this experience and the illusion associated with painting. The implication here is that the Diorama has surpassed the traditional arts. One of the key elements that separated the diorama from the traditional arts, and many of the other entertainments of the time, was the illusion of time, which added to the illusion of having been transported to another place. A visitor to the diorama found themselves on an excursion to new places or events, all neatly packaged in a 15-minute experience available within walking distance for those living in or visiting London.

> By means of this invention, the finest scenes in nature may be presented to us with all the truth of reality, and the inhabitant of a great capital may become as well acquainted with the external appearance of the most romantic situations, as if he had ascended the Alps or Pyrenees in quest of them.[510]

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[508] *Times* (London). "Diorama," October 4, 1823, 3.
[509] Wood. "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s," 284 - 295. Review of *Cathedral of Rheims* and Daguerre's *Mount St. Gothard*.
[510] *Morning Chronicle*, "The Mirror of Fashion", Friday, November 7, 1823.

In this review from the *Morning Chronicle*, the show, the artwork, becomes a suitable substitute for the actual experience. In many ways, it even bested the real, due to convenience, cost, and comfort. Similar tones pervade reviews of the Paris Diorama:

> Tantôt le spectateur se croyait transporté sous d'immenses basiliques, dont les voûtes, les piliers et les vitraux diversement coloriés, représentait l'espace avec une frappante vérité; tantôt les rayons de la lune argentaient un sol aride et les anfructuosités de murs détruits.[511]

A 'frappante vérité', a striking reality that goes beyond even what the real site might offer, is created by the force of the diorama's illusion. On the moving platform, the show physically acts on the body of the visitor, reinforcing the sense that s/he has been transported, physically as well as imaginatively, to the scene on view.

Similar narratives play out publically in several of the written descriptions. In many cases, reviewers explicitly place themselves in the narrative of their review.[512] The position of the writer as viewing subject becomes the protagonist to the reader, who sees, feels, and associates with the show through the subjective experience of the writer. In others, there is considerable attention paid to the actions of fellow audience members. Anecdotes of various visitors exclaiming in delight, or trying to enter the scene in various ways, are given as proof of the all-encompassing illusion of real space beyond the picture plane.

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[511] Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie,* 102. "Suddenly the spectator believed themselves transported under the immense basilicas, where the vaults, the pillars, and the stained glass, represented the space with a striking reality; suddenly, the moon's silver rays illuminated the arid ground and intricacies of the destroyed walls."

[512] This is the case in *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*. "The Diorama - Ruins in a Fog," v. 9, no. 260 (Saturday, June 30, 1827): 425 – 426.

Ruins in a Fog

In 1825 the Paris Diorama debuted a new pair of images, *Ruins in a Fog* by Daguerre, and *View of St. Cloud and Environs of Paris* by Bouton.[513] Though the Diorama canvases no longer exists, reviews, an engraving of *Ruins in a Fog*, and a later painting after the same subject by Daguerre offer a reasonably accurate idea of the image.[514] *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, a relatively inexpensive weekly journal that appealed to lower and middle class demographics, provided excellent images at a relatively low cost.[515] At 2 pence compared, to the 2 shillings it cost for the show itself, *The Mirror* made the diorama available to a large audience through its descriptions and engravings.[516]

Ruins in a Fog originally showed in Paris from August 1825 to May 1826 and in London from June 1827 through March of 1828.[517] Note that these shows occur primarily over the fall and winter months, when most of fashionable society was in town. During the spring and summer months these same classes would likely be out in the country, at their own estates or on holiday.[518]

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513 Descriptions are all we have left of this view. *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*. "The Diorama - Ruins in a Fog," v. 9, no. 260 (Saturday, June 30, 1827): 425 – 426. "the eye wanders over a rich landscape, which embraces in extent about forty miles of the country adjacent to the French metropolis." Also, *Times*, (London) "The Diorama," June 5, 1827, 2.

514 Sophie Thomas, "Making Visible: The Diorama, the Double and the (Gothic) Subject," *Gothic Technologies: Visuality in the Romantic Era*, ed. Robert Miles (December 2005). Thomas states that the painting and the show differed dramatically, but gives no analysis or citation to support this.
Based on the description, the engraving, the dates of the show and the painting, the engraving is arguably a decent representation of the original show, which is relatively accurately portrayed in the later easel painting.

515 Laurel Brake, and Marysa Demoor. "Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction (1822 – 1847)," *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, MA: Academia Press, 2009): 417.

516 1 shilling = 12 pence. The diorama show cost 24 pence (2 shillings), whereas the paper cost only 2, written 2d (standard abbreviation for pence).

517 Chronology compiled and published in Wood, "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s".

518 Note the social movements of the Yorke family, as discussed in Chapter 1, who moved in a fairly predictable pattern between country and city. Among such social classes this movement was common, expected even, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

An engraving (fig. 83) included with *The Mirror's* review depicts a ruinous arcade through a large central arch, flanked by two smaller arches. The perspective draws the view through the arcade to the viewer's right through a doorway. A vanishing point just to the right of center draws the viewer's attention to down the arcaded hall, which opens out into the elements with a hazy background foregrounded by dead trees. In the foreground, to the left of the main arch, a smaller arch leads to a roofless stairway, while on the right tools and debris are scattered in the darkened inner archway. *The Mirror's* description paints an entire experience enlivening the engraving that is worth quoting at length:

> a Gothic Gallery falling to decay, situated at the extremity of a narrow valley, beneath barren mountains. All is sombre, desolate, and mournful; the long-drawn aisles, at a first glance, are alone perceived, for a thick fog reigns without, and such is the illusion of the scene, that you actually fancy yourself chilled by the cold and damp air. By degrees, however, the fog disperses, and through the vast arches are plainly discovered the forests of pine and larch-trees [sic] that cover the valley.[519]

The first lines are in the present tense, implying immediacy and presence. Here the show extends beyond the visual and creates a synesthetic experience; the visual illusion is so complete the other senses fill in details the mind thinks should occur. More than a description or review, this creates a narrative, a further re-living of the diorama experience much in the same manner as a diary entry or account of an actual visit to the place.

Following its usual mode of appraisal, *The Mirror's* reviewer continues by equating the effect with enchantment: "The magic of this effect of light is indeed most

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[519] *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*. "The Diorama - Ruins in a Fog," v. 9, no. 260 (Saturday, June 30, 1827): 425 – 426.

extraordinary, and the illusion is complete and enchanting."[520] Much of the sensationalist language advertises the show, while also recreating the experience for those readers, who may or may not have attended. Most newspapers and journals of the day, even those read by audiences who would, or could, attend the show themselves, followed along the same lines. The *Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* offered similar reports, in the format of an individual reviewer's experience.

Daguerre also painted *Ruins in a Fog* as a traditional easel painting after the Diorama of the same subject appeared in Paris (fig. 84). The painting shares much with *The Mirror's* engraving of the Diorama show from which it derived, indicating a substantial degree of similarity between this and the earlier-painted diorama work. As in the engraving, the arcade opens out to the viewer's left to a stunning snowy landscape framed in by mountains. The perspective is set off center, through a similar doorway, into a darkened courtyard. To the left of the foreground, there is a roofless staircase, and to the right a smaller arcade that disappears into shadow. The tiles are torn up and bits of debris are strewn throughout the foreground.

Compared to the engraving, the architectural detail in the painting is much more intricate. According to the *Times*, the architectural details included in the diorama were detailed enough to provide a convincing illusion, "The hollow arched roof of the chapel, with the rafters which cross each other and support it, are miraculous; it is hardly possible to convince one's self that the deep interval across which they pass is painted upon a flat!"[521] In light of the reviews, the painting is likely closer to the diorama painting in this

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[520] *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*. "The Diorama - Ruins in a Fog," v. 9, no. 260 (Saturday, June 30, 1827): 425 – 426. The 'mode' I am referring to I have traced through the Mirror's reviews since it began reporting on the diorama in 1823. 'Magic', 'illusion' and 'enchantment' enter into nearly every description, along with seemingly contradictory 'natural', etc.

[521] *Times* (London) "The Diorama," June 5, 1827, 2.

regard. The reviewer's mention of 'a flat', while literally correct in conveying that the image is two-dimensional, also references theatrical set design, linking Daguerre's work and the Diorama back to the theatrical.

The most remarkable difference between the engraving and the easel painting is the inclusion of figures in Daguerre's painting, which are absent from both the engraving and descriptions of the show. Likely introduced for the easel painting alone, these figures appear strolling through the arcade toward the viewer, one gesturing out into the landscape through the arcade, the other looking on in that same direction. According to Ralph Hyde, one of the figures is most likely a self-portrait of the painter as it bears the Legion of Honor, and the painting is dated 1826, the year that Daguerre was awarded that honor.[522] Hyde notes that the other figure is wearing a plaid, which he argues places the scene in Scotland. The site of the imaginary scene was not so clear in the diorama, as evidenced by varying places listed in reviews such as Switzerland.[523] The inclusion of the kilted figure in the painting makes the connection to Scotland explicit in the later painting.

Figures did occasionally appear in dioramas, as in an earlier show on a similar theme: Holyrood Chapel. *Ruins of Holyrood Chapel* exhibited in Paris in October 1823 through September 1824, and in London from March 1825 to December 1825. Unlike *Ruins in a Fog*, the *Ruins of Holyrood Chapel*'s exhibition period in London spanned the spring, summer, and fall months. Despite this it drew considerable attention, most of it

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[522] Wood, "The Diorama: some images," 35 – 40. "The figure in the picture accompanying the kilted gentleman wears the red emblem of the Legion of Honour, a reference, it would seem, to the artist himself who had the Cross of the Legion bestowed on him by Charles X in January 1826".
[523] *Times,* (London) "The Diorama," June 5, 1827, 2.

favorable. Many reviews praised the subject and the masterful illusion of the piece. They all, however, severely criticized the inclusion of a kneeling figure in the work.[524]

Based on a historical chapel in Edinburgh, Scotland, *Ruins of Holyrood Chapel* shows the site in a state of ruin. An engraving once again published by *The Mirror* (fig. 85) reveals a marked emphasis on perspective as well as highly contrasting lights and shades apparently created by the moonlight. The columns of the ruined chapel are mostly intact, though the missing roof leaves the chapel's interior open to the elements. The windows at the back are crumbling with the moon seen just above.

In the Diorama, reviews note a figure kneeling in the shadows revealed by the light from a single candle. The public and critics alike remarked on the disruption of the illusion caused by the figure of a woman near the columns on the right side of the image.[525] Her immobility through what was simulated as an entire night caused the spectators to reflect on the actual nature of the image as a static painting rather than immerse themselves entirely in the temporal and atmospheric illusion created by the diorama's lighting effects.

Like *Ruins in a Fog*, the *Ruins of Holyrood Chapel* show was a considerable success and was later worked up into at least two easel paintings by Daguerre, one of which is currently at the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool (fig. 86). The chapel in this painting is recognizable as the same structure as that shown in the engraving, but with a few distinguishing differences. The most remarkable of these changes is the point of view

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524 *Times* (London) "The Diorama," March 21, 1825. The *Times* noted that the female figure "has a tendency to impair the delusion of the reality of the scene." Yet, except for this detail, "the general effect of this picture is beautiful,". A similar praise for the picture and complaint concerning the immobile woman appears in *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*. "Diorama – Ruins of Holyrood Chapel," v. 5, n. 133. (Saturday, March 26, 1825): 193 – 196.

525 Such reviews appear in: *Times* (London) "The Diorama," March 21, 1825.2. *The Morning Chronicle,* "The Diorama," Tuesday, March 22, 1825. And *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* "Diorama – Ruins of Holyrood Chapel," v. 5, n. 133. (Saturday, March 26, 1825): 193 – 196.

of the observer. Whereas the engraving shows that the Diorama presented the view nearly down the center of the nave, the painting tilts this just slightly, indicating that the viewer is standing to one side of the hall. The more direct angle of perspective in the engraving arguably shows the Diorama version taking into account a seated room of spectators who view the image from one particular, calculated angle.

The reviews of the *Ruins of Holyrood Chapel*, beyond praising the work and the diorama in general, tend to describe both the image and the actual chapel.[526] In many instances, such as the description of the Holyrood Show found in the *The Mirror,* the Diorama scene and the actual place are conflated. The article shifts between descriptions of the scene and the actual history or nature of the existing structure with little regard for which is image and which the actual structure. "[N]ature's vegetative power is beginning to re-assert her triumphs over the frail magnificence of art," *The Mirror* article proclaims in a poetic turn that conflates the diorama show with the possibilities of the actual site.[527] Here, "art" could refer to the art of architecture or to the depiction of the site in the painting.

The reference to nature asserting itself over art also draws on the well-known image of nature reclaiming the works of man in a ruinous structure. The Diorama often displayed images derived from popular picturesque aesthetics and landscape views, especially those that included ruins.[528] Such subjects create a correlation between modes of viewing in the landscape, and the diorama. This correlation contributes to the effect of the diorama as a window into a 'real' scene, rather than an image on a flat.

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[526] *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*. "Diorama – Ruins of Holyrood Chapel," v. 5, n. 133. (Saturday, March 26, 1825): 193 – 196. And *Morning Chronicle*. "The Diorama," Tuesday, March 22, 1825. And *Times* (London) "The Diorama," March 21, 1825, 2.
[527] *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*. "Diorama – Ruins of Holyrood Chapel," v. 5, n. 133. (Saturday, March 26, 1825): 196.
[528] Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 78.

Given the use of natural light to give life to the image, the *Mirror's* phrase also takes on a further implication, that the illusion of nature is triumphing over mere artistic representation. The Diorama illusion creates a space where nature's power, through the inclusion of light, triumphs over traditional forms of representation. Reviews in the *Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* rely on a similar rhetorical slippage, though the latter directly notes this tendency to conflate the two.[529] In an attempt to avoid the conflation that prevails in reaction to the diorama show, the author of the *Morning Chronicle* consciously splits the descriptions, visually and organizationally noting the difference between the 'real' site and the illusion of the diorama representation.[530]

Despite the powerful illusion of the scene, the kneeling figure brought the artifice of the show to the viewer's attention. After this criticism of *Ruins of Holyrood Chapel*, figures in Dioramas were rare.[531] The inclusion of a self-portrait is hardly new, but the participatory element it adds to this easel painting is intriguing.

To return to the traditional painting of *Ruins in a Fog*, the inclusion of a self-portrait with another figure in Scottish dress suggests several possibilities. First, it confirms the veracity of the image, establishing the artists' presence and therefore verifying his recording of the scene as accurate and reliable. Including the Scottish gentleman's kilt confirms the site of the scene, according to Wood and Pinson, whereas the Diorama contained no such specific identifiers.[532] Pinson notes that Daguerre

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529 *Morning Chronicle,* "The Diorama," Tuesday, March 22, 1825. *The Morning Chronicle* begins with the history of the subject matter, then segues into a discussion of the image, noting, "Having said thus much about the extraneous interest of Holyrood House, we turn with pleasure to the representation of its ruined Chapel at the Diorama," representation here denoting the separation of subject matter from image. This is not so much the case in the *Times*, where the discussion of the place and the image are usually conflated. *Times,* (London) "The Diorama," March 21, 1825, 2.

530 *Morning Chronicle,* "The Diorama," Tuesday, March 22, 1825.

531 *Times,* (London) "The Diorama," June 5, 1827, 2. Specifically uses the *Ruins of Holyrood* as a point of comparison in its review of *Ruins in a Fog*.

532 Wood, "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s," and Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre*.

travelled in Switzerland and Scotland in 1823,[533] further bolstering the interpretation of the self-portrait as a mark of authenticity, showing the artist's presence in the scene and giving him the authority to depict it 'truthfully'.

Second, the connection with Scotland indicated by the kilted figure opens the painting to a more pointed connection between France and Scotland. Connections between Scotland and France during this period found particular expression in the works of Sir Walter Scott.[534] Pinson states that Daguerre's visit to Scotland may have been prompted by Scott's writings as well as the imminent opening of the London diorama.[535] Sir Walter Scott visited France in 1826, the same date that appears on the easel version of *Ruins in a Fog*.[536] The Scottish dress of the second figure in *Ruins in a Fog* may have elicited comparisons to the famous author, as well as more generally indicating a Scottish setting, given the date of the painting. The kilt was also a socially and politically charged symbol throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Its inclusion may have alluded to Bourbon, and therefore Restoration, affiliations with the Stuarts and the Jacobite often seen as implied in Scott's works.[537] The connection is further enforced by the scene that was paired with it in the diorama, which showed *A View of St. Cloud and*

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533 Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 100. Switzerland in March, Scotland in May.

534 Murray Pittock, ed. *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*, The Athlone Critical Traditions Series: The Reception of British Authors in Europe. (Norfolk: Biddles, Ltd., 2006): 1 – 10.

535 Wood. "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s," Wood argues there is no evidence for this. However, Pinson argues that he did make a tour to Switzerland and Scotland. Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 100. "After completing his arrangements with Smith early in 1823, Daguerre left for a sketching tour of Switzerland in March, followed by a trip to Scotland in May. [note 35. cites 'Diorama' le miroir des spectacles no 795 (31 mars 1823): 2 - 3, and no. 846 (21 mai 1823): 3.] "The trip to Scotland was instigated not only by the enormous popularity of the novels of Walter Scott, referred to at the time as 'the novelist of painters,' but by the imminent opening of the London Diorama. [note 36. Quentin Durward, ou l'ecossais a la cour de louis xi. le miroir des spectacles, no 867, (11 juin 1823): 2 - 3.]" While Pinson argues that Scott was not the reason for the visit, the connection would have been made by viewers of the painting. He also goes on to note that sketches for the later diorama *Holyrood Chapel* were begun on Daguerre's trip to Edinburgh.

536 Pittock, ed. *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*, 5.

537 The Dress Act of 1746 banned wearing the kilt, or any plaid or tartan, as it was seen as a symbol of the Jacobite uprisings, particularly that of 1745. It was repealed in 1782, but was still a loaded political symbol.

the Environs of Paris. This pairing creates a spatial and temporal illusion of proximity between the Scottish and French scenes. The kilted figure resonates with Scott's characters and his own reputation in France at the time. That the scene is imaginary, or a combination of several 'types' would be consistent with the popularity of Scott's historical fiction in France.

The Scottish writer's influence there, according to an article by Paul Barnaby, was mainly through his primary French translator, Auguste-Jean-Baptiste Defauconpret. Barnaby argues that Defauconpret molds Scott's works through translation to fit Legitimist, Catholic, and Restoration ends. Through Defauconpret's translations Scott became, as Charles Nodier points out, an advocate of "all the old social doctrines".[538] Comparisons between the Stuarts and Bourbons were common in France throughout the decades of revolutions.[539] Yet that does not necessarily explain its popularity in London.

Many reviewers indicate that the *Ruins in a Fog* diorama show equaled or exceeded the *Ruins of Holyrood Chapel* scene, primarily due to the choice of figures and debris presented to the viewer.[540] Comparisons were common due to the many similarities between the two: being 'Scottish' subjects, gothic architecture, gloomy atmospheric effects, depicting ruins that were at once interiors yet also open to the elements and therefore exterior views. Yet, the exclusion of figures and the handling of the light and fog created an illusion which critics found much more convincing in comparison to *Ruins*

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538 Paul Barnaby, "Another Tale of Old Mortality: The Translations of Auguste-Jean-Baptiste Defauçonpret in the French Reception of Scott," in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe,* ed. Pittock, 36.

539 Pittock, ed. *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*, 5. And this political sheen given to Scott's works arguably resonated to some degree with Daguerre, who often petitioned for Louis-Phillippe's favor throughout his years building and maintaining the Diorama.

540 Among those journals that treated both the *Holyrood Chapel* scene in 1825 and the *Ruins in a Fog* scene in 1827, the *Times*, and the *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* demonstrate this difference most remarkably, each giving noticeably more space to reviews of *Holyrood Chapel* than to *Ruins in a Fog*.

of Holyrood Chapel.[541] Despite high praise, *The Mirror's* review was relatively short, and the *Times* filled much of their review with comparisons with the *Ruins of Holyrood Chapel show*. The brevity of the reviews is largely a result of the fact that *Ruins in a Fog* was an imagined scene, and therefore there was no fixed, actual place on which the reviewers could expound regarding background detail.[542]

Most descriptions of the shows offered more information concerning the original site or event than was spared for discussing the actual show. Drawing from travel writing, most reviews and descriptions expounded on the details of the sites or events depicted. In particular, these reviews tended to rely to a great extent on the evocation of memory. That is to say, review writers often included anecdotes, when available, of visits to the actual site and details of interacting with the original object of representation.[543] Reviewers tended to refer to other examples of experience, memories of encountering the original, in order to grasp the sensation of the Diorama.[544] Rather than explain, this simply displaces the discussion of the experience to yet another experience, thereby enforcing the effect of the Diorama transporting the viewer to another place.

The reliance on memory to understand the Diorama is most apparent when there is no memory on which the reviewer may rely. In particular, with imagined scenes such as *Ruins in a Fog*. An imagined scene like *Ruins in a Fog* would not be out of place in a gallery of fine arts, but placing the work in the diorama, and the tendency of that kind of

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[541] *Times* (London), "The Diorama," June 5, 1827, 2. This article is particularly succinct in this point, though others noted much the same comparison.

[542] Sources explicitly describe it as such. Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 103: "Daguerre, inspired by his sketches from Switzerland and Scotland, created one of the few fantasy scenes to be exhibited at the Diorama: an 'invented landscape,' with effects of snow and fog, seen through a Gothic colonnade (see cat. 64)." [note 66. 'Tableau composé; effet de neige et de brouillard. exhibited aug 15 1825 - may 4 1826].

[543] Most reviews of the diorama follow this format. For examples, see *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction, The*. "Diorama-The Ruins of Holyrood Chapel." And "View of Roslyn Chapel, at the Diorama," Vol. 7, No. 185 (Saturday, March 4, 1826): 129-133.

[544] As in the review of the Holyrood Chapel, *Times*, (London) "The Diorama," March 21, 1825, 2.

spectacle to conflate the 'real' place with the illusory representation, heightens the visitor's attention to this particular scene's imaginary status. This makes the diorama reviewer's mistaking it for the Swiss alps or the Pyrenees understandable, but complicates the Daguerre's presence in the easel version as mere mark of 'I was there' style authenticity.

Rather than asserting his presence at an actual place or event, Daguerre puts himself in an imaginary scene. He is participating in the scene, and thereby becomes part of it, depicting himself walking through the space. How the diorama viewers must have envied him! So many contemporaries note the audiences that wished to, or insisted on entering the scene that they know is not 'real' and yet seems to exist. According to Adrien Mentienne, writing in the late nineteenth century, "l'illusion était si grande que certaines personnes jetaient des boulettes de papier ou des pièces de monnaie, pensant les lancer dans l'espace: on cite le fait de Charles X, alors prince royal, lançant une pièce de 2 frances, pensant qu'elle allait dans un jardin."[545] Despite the span in years between the event and Mentienne's account, many such anecdotes persisted from the mid-nineteenth century, indicating a pervasive expectation of confusing the Diorama for a window into a real space.

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the diorama drew from several precedents, including the Jardin Monceau and the Wauxhall, where the 'real' garden spaces were juxtaposed with illusionary perspectives. While these anecdotes certainly served primarily to demonstrate, perhaps to a ludicrous degree, the overpowering effect of the illusion, the trope is common enough to warrant consideration. In light of the precedents set at the Wauxhall and similar spaces where illusion and 'real' space are

[545] Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie,* 102. "the illusion was so strong that certain people threw balls of paper or coins, thinking they would continue into the space: one cites an anecdote that Charles X, although a royal prince, threw a 2 franc piece, thinking it would go into a garden."

presented, the expectation that the diorama image may, in fact, just be a window to the outside becomes a real possibility.

Visitors wanted to enter the space, not believing that such illusions could possibly be painted on a flat surface. In its review of *Ruins in a Fog*, the *Times* succinctly summarized this effect, arguing the illusion was so complete that "we feel that if there be any deception, "seeing is believing," no longer".[546] The force of the illusion was such that the visual alone could not convince visitors of the artifice. Including other sensory elements heightened the illusion further, so that the show became a multi-sensory experience. A visitor to the Diorama inevitably participated, physically and imaginatively, in the scene.

An invitation to participate in the painting is explicit here in the easel painting of *Ruins in a Fog*. The artist's position, which the viewer takes when in front of the canvas, is simultaneously transported into the painting. As this is an imaginary scene, it is not merely that we are transported to a far-off place or time by its representation. The space in which we participate is imaginary, but becomes real as we enter into it and participate, just as in the Diorama. In the painting, the addition of the figures both invites participation, and is required as a consequence of the medium. In the Diorama, however, the inclusion of figures would disrupt the illusion, and further is unnecessary as the Diorama works as a whole to bring the actual viewer into the image.

Seeing through the Diorama

The viewer's participation in the show relied on an absorption into the multi-sensory illusion of the Diorama as a whole. In addition to the qualities of the paintings, and the controlled viewpoint and auditory effects, the viewing platform provided a subtle

546 *Times* (London), "The Diorama," June 5, 1827, 2.

sensation of movement. The rotation of the platform between scenes engages the visitor's imagination in further sensory associations. Perhaps riding in a carriage, or being carried along by some other means of transportation, for instance. Transitioning between the two views is now a physical, as well as imaginary, tour.

Transporting viewers between the rooms, as opposed to having two distinct viewing areas, also melds the experience of both views. As noted above, these were usually pairs of interior and exterior scenes further encourages the illusion of the Diorama as an intermediary between the illusionistic spaces and the real world outside. Though the Diorama was ideally placed in Regent's Park, it had to compete with several other forms of spectacle. In the patent, Arrowsmith claims originality for the Diorama based on the mechanics of the building in combination with the painted views, which as a whole he names a 'Diorama'.[547]

The name diorama was generally thought to refer to two, either the two images or the two effects. In 1855, John Timbs indicated another possible interpretation of the term, arguing that the first portion derived from 'dia' rather than 'di', and was therefore a reference to the Greek meaning 'through'.[548] "Through" evokes the paradoxical experience of the Diorama. While fully aware of the work as a painting on 'a flat', audiences continue to insist that their experience permeates this boundary. The plane on which the image is painted is both insisted upon and rejected in the experience of the diorama, and in the use of the stem 'through'. Both 'double' and 'through' are evocative of the experience, but the significance of the 'through' interpretation indicates a participatory point of view; the evocation of a realism wherein the audience is not just

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[547] Patent issued March 6th, 1824. Arrowsmith, *Specification of the patent granted to John Arrowsmith,* 257 – 265. Note: the patent does indicate that several of these elements have been invented/used before, naming Panorama specifically, but lays claim to originality in its combination of all these elements.
[548] John Timbs, "Diorama and Cosmorama," *Curiosities of London,* (1855): 252 – 3.

'viewer' of a scene, but a visitor engaging with the scene. This participatory experience, the creation of an illusory realism, is that which has been neglected thus far in diorama scholarship.

The Diorama experience relies on a particularly designed physical interaction with the Diorama painting. The painting itself, with its layers of opaque and translucent paint, relies on the layered fragments that are revealed or concealed to create the illusion of movement or changes over time. The layered fragments that create the illusion of time passing forcefully recalls the material and effect of Repton's Red Book image. A key distinction of the diorama, however, is the composition of the image that takes the viewer's position into account creating a pictorial space that requires the viewer's participation.

Though the painted plane was only penetrable in the viewer's imagination, such permeability was heightened by the use of natural, exterior daylight. Daguerre spoke of light as an essential medium when discussing the Diorama.[549] As indicated in Arrowsmith's patent, light was introduced through specifically calculated devices to bring the illusion of the Diorama to completion. Given the permeability of the image, imaginatively and physically in the case of the light that passes through and manipulates the painting, Timb's interpretation of 'through' offers a fuller idea of this Diorama experience. In the diorama, the building, its site in Regent's park, the painted image, and the mechanical manipulation of light and viewing room come together to create a mediating space. All aspects of the diorama encourage this permeation between the exterior and the interior. The whole show becomes a device to move the visitor from London, through the interior of the Diorama space, to the world beyond.

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[549] Daguerre, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Daguerreotype and the Diorama*.

PART 2: BRY-SUR-MARNE

In January 1841 Daguerre moved with his wife to the small village of Bry-sur-Marne, now a suburb of Paris.[550] He continued his photographic and artistic experiments with the support of Mademoiselle Geneviève de Rigny (1775 – 1857), niece of the Baron Louis (1755 – 1837) and Châtelaine of the small town, and the friendship of the then-mayor Armand-Louis Mentienne (1798 – 1857).[551] Daguerre also involved himself in the affairs of the town as well, particularly through his election as a *conseiller* shortly after his arrival, and his part in organizing various workshops to employ local citizens.[552]

The town's small church, l'Église Saint Gervais et Saint Protais in particular, benefitted immensely from Daguerre's works. According to Margaret Calvarin, the current director at the Musée Adrien Mentienne in Bry-sur-Marne, Mlle de Rigny wanted a cathedral in Bry, yet the village was too small to allow for such an undertaking.[553] Refusing to give up, the Châtelaine employed Daguerre to improve the church.[554] In lieu of a large architectural undertaking, Daguerre created a Dioramic expansion. With slight

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[550] Wood, "Daguerre and his Diorama in the 1830s." This move occurred shortly after the first Paris Diorama burned down. By the 1830s Daguerre's letters indicate that the Paris Diorama was not doing well financially. On March 8th, 1839, the Paris Diorama, and all of the canvases and archives kept there, was destroyed in a fire. Despite the suspicious circumstances (Daguerre had filed for Bankruptcy not long before, and shortly thereafter moved to Bry-sur-Marne), Wood insists that it is very unlikely that the fire was intentional. Some reports of the fire during the period give an anecdote wherein an assistant was careless with a real flame, intended as an additional effect for one of the scenes, but these details are unsubstantiated due to the lack of remaining archival evidence. After the original building was destroyed, Daguerre opened another, and in 1843 Bouton returned to Paris and opened another diorama.

[551] Not to be confused with Adrien Mentienne (1841 – 1927), a later relation whose writings on Daguerre and Bry form a large portion of the material left to us about that period.

[552] Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie,* 110. "autant que ses ressources modestes le permettatient, il en avait toujours quelques-uns à travailler dans sa propriété".

[553] Interview with Margaret Calvarin, June 2014. According to records published in Jean Roblin, *Comme le lierre à l'arbre: Bry-sur-Marne, Histoire et prospective*. Preface by Etienne Audfray, Mayor of Bry-sur-Marne. (Hotel de Malestroit, Bry-sur-Marne: Office Culture, 1976): 193. The population of Bry in 1801 was 399, growing to 362 in 1841, and 412 by 1851.

[554] Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie,* 108. Mentienne notes the Chatelaine's involvement, though not to the degree indicated by Mme Calvarin. His work notes that Mlle de Rigny did support all the costs of the diorama, as well as many of Daguerre's other costs, but gives credit for the idea to Daguerre.

alterations, widening the apse and installing angled windows to let in the light, Daguerre was able to create a space designed to display a painting based on principles similar to the Diorama shows. After more than six months of near-constant work, according to Mentienne, the church diorama was inaugurated on June 19th, 1842.[555]

Renovations of the building and painting in 2010 shows that alteration were made to the apse to create a space for the light necessary to create the dioramic effects. During the 1830s, a space was added to the back of church to allow light behind the diorama painting. The roof over this extension is partly covered with a large window angled precisely to capture the natural movement of light created by the sun's daily course. Light enters the window at a certain angle at certain times of the day, which reflects off the surface of the walls and shines on the back of the diorama canvas.

The painting (fig. 87), installed between this back wall and the opening, contains an image of a large cathedral nave, extending to an elaborate altar in the background. Windows pierce the side aisles, illuminating the space. A cross with the Christ figure hangs in the foreground, supported by a depicted architectural structure complete with curtains. On the columns to either side are several framed paintings and one empty frame. The Christ figure that hangs from the lintel acting as a partial rood screen, above which is an empty cross. Beyond the initial plane containing the majority of the details, a nave appears to extend toward a series of gothic windows. At the extreme edges of the painting, to the left and right, the side aisles also appear to continue, indicating that the main pillars are perhaps an altar space, which coordinates with the actual altar space in front of the image.

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[555] Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie,* 108.

Given that this installation relied on the natural movement of sunlight, the changing effects are subtle.[556] As part of the recent installation, an artificial lighting system has been added to allow visitors to see all of the changes and effects within a short period of time. Placed behind the main altar, the painting was originally lit by natural light softened by a white linen screen and surrounded by reflective black paint.[557] The light appears to enter the painted church from the viewer's right. As the actual light shifts, the lights and shades in the painting appear to move as well, brightening and darkening with the changing daylight.

According to Mme Calvarin, a clergyman visiting the church during the painting's recent restoration noted that the entire Christian story of the passion is emblematically played out through the painting and its effects.[558] The crucified Christ and the recently snuffed out candle point to the death of Christ, the empty frame symbolizes the empty tomb which refers to the resurrection, while the empty cross stands above all as a symbol of the Catholic faith. The cross and curtains in the painting create a plane between the altar and the painted space. However, as they are painted elements that also participate in the altar space, the boundary between painting and physical space delineated by these emblems is also transgressed by their very presence in the painting itself.

In an engraving from the mid-nineteenth century (fig. 88), the Diorama painting is shown in the space behind the Altar with a small rectangular object placed in the center at the bottom of the painted space. Given the standard layout of a Catholic church this is likely the tabernacle, the specially designed sacred container that holds the remaining

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556 According to Mme Calvarin, Daguerre studied the painting in place for six months to study the movement of light to create his effects. Unfortunately, some of these effects are lost due to bad restorations throughout the 20th century.

557 Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie,* 109.

558 Margaret Calvarin, 2014.

parts of the communion after Mass. An argument could be made that the placement of the tabernacle, as suggested by the engraving, creates a visual link joining the physical house of God, that is the actual church, with the heavenly House of God, through the altar and the act of communion. Altar, tabernacle, and flame, combined with the painted cross and curtains, join the painted space with the real. The painting thus participates in the mass and in the life of the church, and may even refer to the heavenly church itself. Creating such a liminal space, a transgressed boundary between the 'real' and the painted surface further emphasizes the painting as a manifestation of an invisible reality, rather than a mere decorative trompe l'oeil.

Calvarin stated this explicitly, insisting that the 'illusion' of the work is not merely a *trompe l'oeil*. That is to say, the painting is not merely meant to trick the viewer, or to create a superficial illusion. Rather, the strength of the illusion and its placement and effects creates a reality, that of the Bry Cathedral.[559] Such a created, or illusory, reality was also noticed in the nineteenth century. M. Balagny, in an article published in 1889 for the *Bulletin de la Societe Francaise de Photographie*, recounts his visit to Bry beginning with a visit to the church.[560] Of the image, he notes that,

> la perspective, admirablement ménagée, fait croire au spectateur que l'autel n'est plus qu'au milieu de l'église, et que derrière lui commence une nouvelle église, de beaucoup plus belle naturellement que la modest église de Bry. Pour faire la jonction nécessaire entre l'église réelle et l'église imaginaire…[561]

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[559] I am greatly indebted to Mme Margaret Calvarin, curator of the Musée Adrienne Mentienne in Bry-sur-Marne, who during my research in 2014 shared several of her own insights on this aspect of the Bry-sur-Marne Diorama.

[560] Mr. Georges Balagny (1837 – 1919) who was part of the Société Française de la Photographie.

[561] Georges Balagny, "Souvenirs de Daguerre," *Société Français de Photographie*, (Paris, 1889): 213. "the perspective, admirably managed, makes the spectator believe that the altar is only in the middle of the church, and that behind it begins a new church, much more beautiful than the modest church of Bry. To make the necessary junction between the real church and the imaginary church…".

His description then goes on to include the specifics of how the diorama painting is placed. Behind the altar there is a stage with 'wings', to use the theatrical term, that overlap with the painting itself which is set a small distance behind the opening. Placing the painting here allows a visitor to see more of the work as s/he moves through the physical space of the church, intensifying the illusion that the painting represents a real space beyond the altar.

Balagny's phrasing is telling; the 'real' and the 'imaginary' combine in the space at the Altar. Given the religious context, this has metaphysical implications as well as aesthetic and theoretical. The Altar is the space where the physical world connects with the divine, where, in the Catholic faith, God communes with the faithful. Recreating the passion emblematically throughout the painting, the painting extends the church in to the cathedral desired by the Chatelaine, while also reinforcing a connection between the seen, the real, and the unseen and divine.

A speech given at a memorial service for Daguerre reinforced this experience in a more secular manner; "N'y a-t-il pas ici une église communale, transformée en cathédrale par le magician".[562] Substituting the religious experience for that of a magical one, the magician replaces the priest. Daguerre becomes the figure through which the viewer/visitor is allowed to interact with the reality of the Bry Cathedral. Such force of illusion, where the representation becomes more than a flat surface in the imagination and reactions of the visitors, was precisely the main draw of the original Diorama spectacle.

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[562] Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie,* 118 – 119. Mentienne, transcribing memorials read at Daguerre's funeral and the dedication of the monument to him a few years later. "Is there not here a communal church, transformed into a cathedral by the magician".

Daguerre's Studio

Daguerre's work in Bry extended beyond the church diorama. His photographic experiments continued in the studio attached to his home. Daguerre's Bry-sur-Marne home is a fascinating space, not merely because of who lived there, but because of how it was designed and integrated into the fabric of the town. The house included a large studio space as well as a tower that which Daguerre decorated with screens painted to imitate what Mentienne describes as 'Moorish' architecture.[563] From his tower, Daguerre could look over the center of the little town, including the church where his last diorama was painted and installed. In the distance the south-facing façade of Mlle de Rigny's Chateau is just barely visible. In effect, this view brought all of Daguerre's *Bryarde* projects under a single view.

Mentienne's account goes on at length about Daguerre's photographic experiements while in Bry. In the midst of his description, however, he takes a considerable pause to describe two other Daguerrean projects: his home garden and the Bry Park, also called Mlle de Rigny's park. Mentienne's account of Daguerre's home garden is one of the few surviving descriptions of the space. He suggests that "[Daguerre] embellit sa propriété en y faisant faire des mouvements de terrain qui en augmentaient la

[563] Mentienne, *La Decouverte de la Photographie,* 105. "Cette tour dominait la vallée de la Marne et était décorée extérieurement par des peintures de genre mauresque: il aimait à monter au dernier étage, lors de grands orages, et là, avec une lunette d'approche, il observait le choc des nuages chargés d'électricité." Note, included on p. 105 of the same text, indicates that after his death the widow Daguerre was obligated due to her lack of finances to sell the property in 1853. The 'congregation des dames' of Saint-Clotilde acquired the property who used it as a country retreat for their members who were ill. Saint Clothilde maintained ownership of the property, though the original house was destroyed in the battle de Villiers in 1870. "Ces Dames on gardé le parc dans la mème disposition que du temps de Daguerre; ells se font un scruple d'y toucher. Elles ont eu, lors de leur acquisition, un tableau de Daguerre représentant une entrée de bois avec clairiére splendide à tous égards: effets, perspective, éclairage."

perspective et lui donnaient l'aspect d'une petite vallée Suisse".[564] This description of a 'Swiss valley' is also used in later sources to describe Mlle de Rigny's Park.

Often confused as one and the same, Mentienne's description actually discusses two distinct gardens by Daguerre.[565] The first was his own property which he remodelled to imitate a 'vallée Suisse'. There is little elaboration on what this might have meant in Mentienne's text, however a painting in the Musée Adrien Mentienne's collection may shed some light on the generic classification. *Vue du Mont-Blanc, Suisse*, 1833, (fig. 89) an oil painting by Daguerre now hangs in the town hall in Bry. The scene shows a mostly hidden dirt path in the foreground, leading around a small hill covered in autumn-colored foliage topped by the ruins of a gothic building. To the viewer's left, cliffs frame the view and lean precariously toward the ruined arch. On the right, a green meadow opens out beyond the trees to a lakeside town nestled against pink and purple mountains.

It is possible Mentienne is referring to an aesthetic similar to that evoked in the painting, given its presence in Bry and its authorship. Yet the space of Daguerre's property, though considerable for the small town, as not large enough to allow for such extravagances as ruined abbeys or castles, and distant views of a lakeside town. How could he have created a Swiss valley in his tiny home garden? Balagny's more in-depth description of the space may hold the key.[566]

Though Balagny was unable to gain access to Daguerre's garden to see it for himself, he gives some notes on what he expected to see there, though the source of his

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[564] Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie*, 105. "[Daguerre] embellished his property through landscaping that augmented the perspective and gave it the aspect of a small Swiss valley."
[565] Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 170.
[566] Balagny's works were published by the Société Française de la Photographie, as well as referenced in a lecture given in the same year, 1889, at the Glasgow Photographic Association by Mr. Wm. Lane Jr. Parts of that lecture were published in the London publication, *The Photographic News*, Nov. 22, 1889 (vol. 33, no. 1629): 772 – 773. Both of these publications refer to a series of photographs by Balagny, at least one of which shows the 'grotto' in Mlle Rigny's Park. However, that photograph has not yet been found.

descriptions is as yet unknown. Balagny gives the reader the impression that Daguerre's garden capitalized primarily on his Diorama work, that is the use of 'perspective' and other effects to create the illusion of long avenues to create what Mentienne later describes as a Swiss valley. "Il allongeait son parc, comme il avait allongé l'église."[567] It is possible this alludes to a painted perspectival device much as that used at Schwetzingen.

If this is the case, we might extrapolate from these descriptions and the Mont-Blanc painting. The distant view of the lakeside town in the Mont-Blanc painting is neatly framed by a darkened line of trees and shrubs that create a frame. On the other side of this the illuminated meadow leads us to a brightly lit distant view, effectively eliminating much of the middle ground. Or, to state it more aptly, allowing the viewer to imagine the middle ground hidden by the darkened foliage. Could the twisting path and dense foliage be a template for the physical space of the garden, while the distant view was created with painted effects and cunning use of framing?

Unfortunately, the garden no longer survives. After his death in 1851, Daguerre's widow sold the house and property to the order of St. Clothild, which used it as a country retreat. According to contemporary accounts, though the house was destroyed in 1870 and rebuilt in a style different from that of Daguerre's time, the garden was kept in its original state until an unspecified period in the twentieth century.[568] Today there is little left of Daguerre's original home or garden.

Mlle de Rigny's Park

Beyond his home studio, Daguerre was also instrumental in several other projects in the small town. One of the most ambitious projects began in response to the

[567] Balagny, *Souvenirs de daguerre,* 215.
[568] Mentienne and Balagny both note these details.

revolutionary conflicts of 1848. In the midst of those events, Mlle de Rigny developed workshops to keep the citizens of Bry-sur-Marne employed. As part of this effort, the Châtelaine requested Daguerre's help in organizing programs as part of the *Ateliers Nationaux* in his studio and to create a landscape garden on the Châtelaine's property.[569] Many of the details of the effect of these events on the tiny village of Bry-sur-Marne have since been confused due to a lack of archival evidence to corroborate Mentienne's work, which is the primary source for many later discussions of Bry-sur-Marne during the nineteenth century. His descriptions have, however, become the main foundation on which later works base their sometimes-conflicting accounts.

According to the sparse records remaining, the mayor Mentienne suggested to the Mlle de Rigny that she employ people from the town to create a public garden on the grounds of the Chateau as part of an effort to relieve the economic hardships caused by the political upheavals during the period.[570] As far as we know, nothing remains of Daguerre's work on the garden. Even its placement is difficult to pinpoint given the lack of records from the period regarding this project. The few descriptions we have place it on the grounds of 'the Chateau'.[571] In Bry, *the* Chateau would be the eighteenth-century chateau originally designed by Etienne de la Silhouette. By the mid-nineteenth century, the chateau was inhabited by the Châtelaine and niece of the Baron Louis, Mademoiselle Geneviève de Rigny, who inherited the property on the Baron's death in 1837.[572]

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[569] Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie*, 110.

[570] Jean Roblin, Philippe Drancy, and Marieke Housseau, eds. *Hommage à Daguerre: Magicien de l'image*. Exhibition at l'Hôtel de Malestroit, Bry-sur-Marne, 23 October – 7 November, 1976. Introduction by Pierre Emmanuel. L'Imprimerie Salles et Grange, Office Culturel de Bry-sur-Marne, 1976): 34.

[571] Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie*.

[572] Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* Stephen Pinson fails to mention Mlle de Rigny's involvement with the garden which, according to several sources, was instrumental. Mentienne calls it Mlle de Rigny's garden, and notes that she funded Daguerre's work during his time in Bry. She is also the figure that the Mayor Mentienne advises to develop programs for workers, and she turns to Daguerre for help to develop this garden. It seems to me she is an interesting figure herself whose place in the story has been aggresively

Adrien Mentienne's *La Decouverte de la Photographie* spends an entire chapter on Daguerre's contributions to Bry-sur-Marne, with a considerable amount of space given to Mlle de Rigny's park:

> [Daguerre] en avait toujours quelques-uns à travailler dans sa propriété; mais la grand resource était le parc de Mlle de Rigny.
>
> En 1848, au moment de la Révolution, cette dame, qui avait vu 1793, avait paru s'effrayer; M. Mentienne lui conseilla d'occuper le plus d'ouvriers possible; suivant ce conseil, elle les chargea tous deux d'établier des chantiers dans sa propriété; alors Daguerre organisa des ateliers nationaux dans le parc de Bry, en y faisant faire des mouvements de terrains et d'autres dispositions.
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> Il conçut l'exécution d'un diorama naturel: c'était la perspective d'un vieux château fort en ruines dans l'éloignement, et qui apparaissait au détour d'un chemin ; puis un reste de chapelle avec arcature ; enfin une grotte en bas, baignée par un lac en miniature; des rochers, des ponts rustiques, des plantations de sapins sur des collines, etc. Ce paysage avait un aspect très pittoresque, et les mouvements de terrains y étaient executés d'une façon si savante qu'on les prenait comme étant naturels.
>
> C'était un coin charmant, et qui montrait avec quelles savantes combinaisons Daguerre savait simuler la nature; aujourd'hui, les arbres ont grandi et l'illusion a bien perdu.
>
> Pour terminer ce paysage, on devait y faire arriver l'eau des magnifiques sources du château par des rivières anglaises, lesquelles devaient produire une cascade en bas de la ruine de la chapelle et retomber dans le lac. Mlle de Rigny le pressait de faire ce travail; mais d'autres occupations d'atelier l'avaient fair ajourner, et la mort est arrivée avant l'achèvement de cette oeuvre.[573]

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over-ridden by the artist-as-genuis/biographical method of inquiry/interpretation often used when treating Daguerre's work.

[573] Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie*, 110 – 111. "[Daguerre] always had some people working in his property; but the great resource was Mlle de Rigny's park. In 1848, at the moment of the Revolution, this lady, who saw 1793, seemed frightened; M. Mentienne advised her to employ as many workers as possible; following that advice, she established a plan for constructions on her property; so Daguerre organized the national workshops in the Bry Park, moving the landscape there and other works. He conceived of it as a natural diorama: it was the perspective of an old castle in ruins in the distance, that appeared along the path; then the remains of a chapel with an arch; finally a grotto at the bottom, bathed by a miniature lake; rocks, rustic bridges, fir trees on the hills, etc. This landscape had a very picturesque aspect, and the landscaping was executed in such a cunning way that one would take them for natural. It was a charming corner, and showed with what cunning combinations Daguerre knew how to simulate

The Chateau, or Bry, park is noted as part of the 1848 efforts to employ the citizens of Bry during the political upheavals of the time and is expressly noted as being on the property of Mlle de Rigny, or the Baron Louis, depending on the source. Daguerre was closely linked to the Baron Louis and the Rigny family. According to Balagny and Mentienne, the Baron Louis allowed Daguerre to make certain embellishments to his property in which Daguerre continued to employ his talent for perspective.[574]

Mentienne's description discusses Daguerre's 'swiss valley' in the context of the artist's home and connected garden developed shortly after his arrival in 1841. Though technically all of Bry was the Baron's, that is to say Mlle de Rigny's property, the differing contexts of the two discussions, separated by further descriptions of Daguerre's activities in chronological order, indicate that Mentienne is talking about two distinct garden spaces. Balagny's account is even more convincing on this point, as he is able to access one park, that on the Chateau grounds, but is denied entry to the other. Therefore, his discussion, which clearly demarcates his experiences as opposed to rumored or otherwise learned descriptions, gives a solid foundation to the theory that these are two separate places.

Daguerre's involvement in both, the disappearance of both gardens since the late nineteenth century, and the descriptions that are similar in aesthetic and character, have caused much confusion on this point. After Mentienne and Balagny's accounts, descriptions and scholarly discussions do not make any distinction regarding these spaces. Descriptions for both, pulled from Mentienne and Balagny, are used

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nature; today, the trees have grown and the illusion has been lost. To finish the landscape, one would have had to bring the magnificent sources of water by means of the English rivers, which would have produced a waterfall below the ruined chapel and fallen into the lake. Mlle de Rigny pressed him to do this; but other occupations of the studio postponed it, and death arrived before this work could be completed."

[574] Balagny, *Souvenirs de Daguerre,* 214 – 215.

indiscriminately to describe either space. The point is never said explicitly, but the most recent works that mention these gardens imply that they are one.[575] Combined with a relative lack of evidence of either garden, in the case of Daguerre's home garden a complete absence of photographic or other evidence, and the artist's involvement in both, the confusion is understandable. From this also stems the considerable confusion about where the garden might have existed. Photos and drawings of the Chateau garden are used as proof of Daguerre's home garden, while the Chateau garden is described as a Swiss Valley, and when a place is mentioned no distinction is made to indicate that Daguerre's property is not the same as that of Mlle de Rigny.

Mentienne's text is full of errors and unsubstantiated details, but when it comes to Bry, where he himself lived, the details are remarkably accurate. His discussion of Daguerre's property is enveloped within a description of the artist's home and studio on the same land, while the lengthy description of the picturesque Bry garden appears several pages later, in the context of what he names 'Mlle de Rigny's garden'. These descriptive details of Mlle de Rigny's park match nearly exactly a set of late nineteenth and early twentieth century drawings and photographs, which were later labeled as depictions of 'Daguerre's Garden'. In addition, the private nature of Daguerre's home and attached gardens, due to their being part of a convent at that time, makes the presence of the visitors unlikely. The public nature of the landscape, as indicated by visitors in the available images makes the additional case that these images are of the Chateau garden.[576]

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[575] Pinson *Speculating Daguerre,* 170. Also Guillaume Le Gall, *La Peinture Mecanique: Le Diorama de Daguerre* (Éditions Mare & Martin, 2013).

[576] The size of the chateau's park would also make it the more likely candidate for such a large endeavor as that described for the activities of 1848. In the 1870s the Castle and the property underwent considerable reconstruction after being nearly destroyed in the Franco-Prussian war. A photo album of the Chateau, dated to 1875, shows the reconstructed chateau and some of the grounds, with no mention of Daguerre's additions. While this photo album does not include any indication of the park or landscape, the Lantz

Now the Institut Saint-Thomas-de-Villeneuve, the Chateau de Bry once included extensive grounds, according to maps and surveys from the period. Given the descriptions and the grounds indicated in these maps, it is likely the park was north of the Chateau, the main approach from the south being in a more formal style, with the larger park and grounds extending to the north of the chateau itself. M. Balagny's 1889 article places Daguerre's works, and the grotto in particular, in the Chateau grounds, in the 'prairies next to the Marne river'. The grotto was situated in a bouquet of greenery, a sort of oasis sheltered against the rays of the sun and placed in the middle of the prairies along the river Marne.[577]

Existing evidence of the park is scarce, including only a few images of the grotto and lake area from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These images include a photographic reproduction of a drawing purportedly by Daguerre, an undated drawing by Charles Lantz, a photograph dated 1912, and an undated postcard.[578] During the Franco-prussian war in 1870 Bry-sur-Marne was heavily damaged, including much of the chateau and its grounds. Balagny and Mentienne's accounts indicate that the grotto survived intact, but it is likely that locally held records or other evidence closer to Daguerre's time may have disappeared in the violence of 1870.

One of the earliest pieces of evidence describing the garden is preserved as an early photographic reproduction. Now held at the Eastman House in Rochester, New

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collection photograph, dated 1912 clearly shows the what appears to be a ruined arch and/or grotto still intact. It is possible the little part of the park designed by Daguerre was merely of no interest the then-inhabitant/owner, the de Vinck family. The photos in this album focus on the rebuilt chateau, and relevant people, probably of de Vinck's family. Images of the grounds are by accident, that is only as background to family photos and other activities, and with the massive rebuilding of the Chateau itself, the Daguerre portion of the garden may have been of no consequence at that time.

[577] Balagny, *Souvenirs de Daguerre*, 214. Author's translation.

[578] The photo and drawing from the Raymond Lantz collection, as reproduced in figures 91 and 92 are images from the collection at the Musée Adrien Mentienne in Bry-sur-Marne. Efforts to find the current owners of the originals have been unsuccessful to this date. Any information about the current state of these images would be greatly appreciated by the author.

York, (fig. 90) this photographic reproduction is of a lost drawing by Daguerre of the Park at Bry-sur-Marne. The photograph is described in the Eastman House records as the work of Adrien Mentienne, the same author of *La Decouverte de la Photographie*. The accompanying notes indicate that this is a photo reproduction of Daguerre's design for the park.

In the foreground of the image there is the shore of a lake or river, while the middle ground is occupied by a grotto, indicated by a rustic stone arcade on the far shore of the water. A rustic bridge, and ruins on a hill are framed by trees to either side with a hazy undefined background. Though the view is framed to either side by trees, a path leads from the lakeshore to the bottom right corner, perhaps looping around the trees to join the path indicated in the background beneath the hill with ruins. From there a rocky bridge spans a river or stream feeding the lake and leads into a grotto formed by three ruinous arches. Inside the grotto, a barely discernible face draws the viewer's eye into the shadowy depths overlooking the water. The arcade creates a permeability to the structure, allowing the visitor to physically and/or visually enter and exit at will. Continuing to the viewer's left, an obscured indication of a pathway leads under a willow tree and across another bridge that disappears entirely behind another willow tree on the water's edge near the foreground.

Judging from Mentienne's description of Mlle de Rigny's garden, the arch on the hill in Daguerre's drawing arguably represents the ruins of a castle, which that description implies was unreachable, and viewable only from a certain point along the path. The background is hazy and incomplete but may indicate the 'riviers anglaises' and cascades desired by Mlle de Rigny. Beyond the bridge to the viewer's right there is an indistinct indication of the lake being fed from a river. Unfortunately, as Mentienne notes

in the extended quote above, these features were never completed due to the death of the artist in 1851.[579]

After this period, there is little evidence to indicate how the park was actually created. Which aspects of Daguerre's drawing were physically executed in the park, and which were abandoned, or included in the drawing for effect, is difficult to say with certainty. Later images and descriptions do indicate that the park was created with many of the elements proposed by Daguerre's drawing, though we must keep in mind the various changes that could have occurred during the span of decades between the original construction and these later images. In 1976, the town of Bry-sur-Marne hosted an exhibition celebrating Daguerre. The Musée Adrien-Mentienne published a catalog to accompany the exhibition that included a photograph from 1912 titled *En Famille, Près de la Grotte de Daguerre* (fig. 91).[580] The title and the features of the park in the photo indicate that Daguerre's park did indeed survive in some state until the early twentieth century.

Noted as part of the Raymond Lantz collection this photo features the rough archway on the shores of the tiny lake in the Bry-sur-Marne park. The main arch is brightly lit from the viewer's right and reflects in the water below, with another pillar to the viewer's left indicating a second arch beyond the image. These arguably indicate the grotto designed by Daguerre, which in his drawing is formed by three ruinous arches. To the viewer's right, a bridge made out of planks and crumbling stones appears. A young child sits precariously on the edge with a stick directing a small toy boat in the lake. The

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[579] Mentienne, *La Découverte de la Photographie,* 111.

[580] Roblin, *Hommage À Daguerre*, 34. The catalog describes what appears to be this image as: *'En Famille, près de la grotte de Daguerre (Bry-sur-Marne).* "Photographe prise en 1912, Collection Raymond Lantz."

rest of the family occupy positions around the grotto arches, including one adventurous youngster on the top of the rough stone structure.

The presence of the family gives a good idea of these features' proportions, while their positions throughout the structure indicate that it was an interactive feature. The path that led them to that spot across the water on the right is cut off by the framing of the photograph. Shadows and foliage obscure the left side, while the bridge and path indicated on the right are separated from the viewer by the lake. The water of this small river or lake fills up nearly the entire foreground, unlike Daguerre's drawing, which shows the water's edge in the foreground.

A drawing from the same collection was also included in the same 1976 exhibition. Undated, the exhibition catalog notes the work as *Grotte de Daguerre* by Charles Lantz (fig. 92).[581] Lantz's drawing focuses on the lake, and the nearby bridge and grotto with a perspective very similar to that used in the photograph. The arches, with more indication of that secondary arch to the viewer's left, shine brightly with a light source similar to that shown in the photo. To the viewer's right of the grotto is the path leading over a wooden bridge spanning a small river or creek that appears to come from the darkened gap in the rocks behind the bridge itself. The path disappears behind a large tree, the contrast and bulk of which draws the eye into the foreground. Similar to Daguerre's drawing, the Lantz sketch provides some indication of a shore in the foreground, a place for the viewer to imagine standing. To the left the view continues along the edge of the image, back across the water, to a curious opening in the rockface or foliage left of the grotto arches.

[581] Roblin, Drancy, and Housseau, eds. *Hommage à Daguerre*, 35.

Behind these main features, the background is cut off from view by foliage and/or rock. The dense wall of trees creates a backdrop that prevent us from seeing beyond the scene in both the Lantz drawing and the *En Famille* photo. Unlike Daguerre's more open depiction, these works imply that there is no view out into the surrounding landscape. This little oasis, as Balagny described it, appears to exist in a hollow or bordered by thick forest or groves. No ruined castle is visible in either the photograph or the drawing. Given that these were in the same collection, and the similarity of perspective, the foliage growth, and the light source, an argument could be made that these were created at a similar time. Perhaps the artist of the drawing, Charles Lantz is even pictured in the photograph, or is the elusive presence behind the camera.

While the photograph establishes the actual presence of these features, the drawing clarifies several aspects. The archways are better delineated, and the two elusive gaps in the rock or foliage that makes up the background are much clearer here than in the *En Famille* photo. The drawing indicates characteristically 'picturesque' moments, such as the partially dead tree and fallen log in the foreground, as well as the rustic wooden bridge and crumbling arches.

The most enigmatic extant image of the garden is in the form of a postcard (fig. 93).[582] It is unclear whether the image on the postcard is taken from a photograph, a drawing, a print, or some combination. We see the main arch again, presumably from across the lake but from a different angle as that shown in the Lantz drawing and photograph. Here the space under each archway differs dramatically. With the framing of the image it is difficult to say whether the right arch connects to a pillar at all, but it covers considerably more space than the complete one centered in the image.

[582] This undated postcard is in the collection at the Musée Adrien Mentienne.

Peering out from the darkened archway, shadows seem to form a face that stares back at the viewer. The features are partially obscured, but the proportions, given the size of the archway as indicated in the 1912 photograph, would make the face as large as a fully-grown adult. Whether it is an apparition, a folly that actually existed, or the postcard artists' own whimsy is unclear. Could this be a diorama hidden in the depths of the grotto? Is it merely the photographer's artistic license? Are we meant to read this as Daguerre's presence, or are the features created by mere coincidence?

The caption is equally ambiguous: "Bry-sur-Marne – La Grotte où Daguerre aimait à se reposer de ses travaux"[583]. Translated, the phrase notes that this is the Grotto where Daguerre liked to rest from his work. The wording indicates that this was a favorite spot with Daguerre, while remaining vague on Daguerre's role in the space. Daguerre's presence is insinuated but not specified. In fact, the caption would seem to indicate that in this spot Daguerre rested from his work, rather than where he worked. This turn of phrase has several implications. The most explicit is that this is the garden where Daguerre would not work, indicating that this is not his work, merely a place for him to visit and enjoy. Given that photography was by the late 19th century the better known 'work' of Daguerre, this garden and his work on it might arguably be his 'rest'. The caption effectively links Daguerre to the space giving the postcard a narrative tone.

Digging a bit deeper into the rhetorical turn of phrase, to have a place and time to rest also has biblical implications. Given the 'realistic' illusionism with which his Dioramas and photographs were credited, this might insinuate his god-like creation of fictive realities, and this garden is where he took his rest, much like the Judeo-Christian God in the garden of Eden. Such Edenic analogies were common in garden spaces, and

[583] Author's translation: "Bry-sur-Marne - The grotto where Daguerre loved to rest from his work".

the inclusion of ruins and grottos suggests a post-fall world. Further, the phrase 'se reposer,' to rest, also has melancholic tones in that it is used in French for the similarly toned English phrase 'laid to rest'. The phrase might signal the artist's death, which according to Mentienne prevented the completion of the park. By pointing to Daguerre's presence in the garden, as a visitor at least, this 'se reposer' also indicates his absence. His death effectively halted the completion of the garden space, according to Mentienne, and those absences remain, indicating the absence of the artist himself.

Combined with Mentienne and Balagny's accounts, these images create a fragmentary window into this garden space. Centered on the lake and grotto, a path led visitors from the space occupied by the viewer into the grotto. Along the path, there may have been a distant view, or a perspectival device, showing a ruined gothic castle. Across the rustic bridge the visitor would approach the grotto. Here, there may have been a statue, or perhaps the visitor him/herself took the place of the statue, looking back out over the water to where he/she previously stood. From there, another bridge or perhaps another ruined arch led the visitor back around lake to the starting point. In Balagny's description there is an indication that the Marne river may have been visible from the spot, and given the hilly terrain of the proposed area the river, grotto, and possibly the ruined castle or the chateau itself could have been placed to appear at prescribed moments along the walk.[584]

Daguerre's experiments in the Diorama, and his work with photography, indicates a profound interest in the possibilities of light and shade, its effects and abilities to create or sustain illusion or atmosphere. The evidence we have is fragmentary, but from all accounts Daguerre's work in the Bry garden took full advantage of his knowledge of light

[584] Balagny, *Souvenirs de Daguerre,* 214.

and shade to create his oasis. In the *En Famille* photo, the front of the grotto's pillars are strongly lit by the daylight, creating detailed reflections in the water below, while also obscuring the depths of the grotto. Yet the grotto space is also partially illuminated by light, inviting the visitor to explore the shadowy depths. From the back of the grotto space, in those carefully calculated shadows, would it seem to the visitor that they had re-visited the Diorama? Looking out through a roughened stone arcade over the expanse of the water, did the landscape beyond take on the character of a Diorama painting? The use of the grotto and its imagined comparison with the Diorama illusion further reveals the implicit connection of such illusions, as explored at Schwetzingen where a similar conflation of illusion and grotto subverted established expectations of a 'real' view.

Contemporary writers such as Balagny and Mentienne, as well as all indications from Daguerre's drawings and the other images we have, indicate that this spot was likely situated in a park, a small oasis in the naturalized landscape distinct from the more formal gardens near to the Chateau or the prairies and working farms around the town. As a whole, Daguerre's intervention creates a picturesque landscape garden within the Chateau property.

In his descriptions Mentienne recalls two places of origin for his reader in discussing Daguerre's gardens. The first, a Swiss valley in his home garden, and in the 'riviers anglaises' detail noted during his description of Mlle de Rigny's park. The difference between the two, given Daguerre's *Vue de Mont-Blanc* painting and other reactions to Swiss and/or English landscape subjects was not very clear even at the time. The Swiss descriptions seems to indicate a level of sublimity, of distance or the inclusion of fantastic follies such as ruins and castles. English Landscape style, on the other hand,

is referenced specifically in relation to the water feature, integrating the grotto and lake into a generally 'picturesque' landscape style.[585]

In Mentienne's descriptions especially we should keep in mind that these categories do not seem to form any coherent typology. Rather, they draw the reader, and by extension the visitor's attention to the generally allusive and illusionistic quality of the garden space. The essential elements here included a ruined fortress and chapel, a rustic bridge, grotto are all characteristic of the picturesque style, which Daguerre was familiar with at the very least since his involvement with Nodier's *Voyages Pittoresques*.[586]

In the most general sense the inclusion of the grotto and rustic bridge, along with the picturesque atmosphere as indicated by the Lantz drawing, indicates a generally picturesque design drawn from English and Swiss landscape styles as they were understood in the mid-nineteenth century. The use of a ruined castle, arcaded chapel, grotto, rustic bridge, and miniature lake, indicates the preference for such scenes, while also relating them visually to Daguerre's own artistic oeuvre, especially those scenes often shown in the Diorama and the picturesque views in his paintings and illustrations.

The choice of ruins for the park and the grotto is interesting on several levels. The style of the ruins are specifically indicated by Mentienne and others as 'gothic'. This style gives the landscape a particular mood. Given the political impetus behind the project, Daguerre's attachment to the Bourbon dynasty and Restoration as evidenced in his other work, and Mlle de Rigny's relation to the Baron Louis, a castle in ruins could

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[585] The grotto in particular also echoes an image included in Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* (1835) of the 'Cyclopian' rock. This drawing supposedly evoked an ancient architectural type typified by a natural grotto reinforced by masonry. See Denis A. Lambin, "From grottoes to the Alps – a contribution to a history of rock and alpine grottoes" *Journal of Garden History*, vol. 14, no. 4 (1994): 236 – 256.
[586] Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 2.

indicate a warning about the vicissitudes of time, or a fictive link to real historical lineage in an idealized medieval past during this period of upheaval.

In the Lantz drawing, and to some extent in the *En Famille* photo, the grotto appears to be made using ruined arches and pillars. The drawing indicated a more uniform stonework for the pillars than can be attributed to natural formations. The arches, as indicated in the reproduction of Daguerre's drawing, are also apparently uniform in height and width. The use of ruins to create the grotto is an intriguing departure from what we tend to see in English landscape gardens. Grottos typically indicate some man-made elements, but tend to include shells, roughened stone, etc. to give the illusion of an entirely natural, that is naturally occurring space. Here, Mentienne's 'ruined chapel' and/or his ruined castle seems to have been integrated into the lakeside to create the grotto itself.

Whether he was drawing directly from his experience of these types of gardens seen during his 'picturesque' tours, the drawings of which appear in Nodier's *Voyages Pittoresques,* or from his memories of them translated through his diorama paintings is unclear. In either case, the garden is a diorama that has come to life, creating a full circle. The landscape garden, in the picturesque style, provides the material for the diorama, which becomes the source for the garden at Bry.

CONCLUSIONS

Though fragmentary, the records of this garden are intriguing. We might even say that these fragments, so varied and interesting on their own, are intriguing *because* they are fragmentary. Mentienne's reference to the Chateau park as a 'diorama naturel' is particularly telling. What is a 'natural diorama'? Certainly, this reference to a garden space as natural may be taken as both a reference to nature, that is the landscape, as well

as the more colloquial 'natural', or real. As one of the primary effects of the diorama was the manipulation of light, calling this park a 'natural diorama' draws our attention to the placement of the landscape elements, the use and changes of natural light and shade and their attendant effects.

What does it say about this garden, to classify it as a diorama? The rhetorical slippage surrounding both the diorama and this landscape garden revolve around a telling juxtaposition between nature and the diorama. Describing the landscape a 'natural diorama' implies that the Diorama itself is not natural. In the most literal sense, this is true. The Diorama is an illusion, while the landscape is a physical space made of 'real', that is physically present and interactive materials. Yet the experience of the diorama was also characterized as 'nature itself'.[587] To complicate this further, Mentienne's description of the landscape describes it as a natural, or physical, realization of one of Daguerre's Diorama scenes. In this, the landscape is the copy, and the Diorama is the original.

The issue of copy and original brings to mind a review of the Diorama of Unterseen published in the *Globe*;

> Art alone does not dominate; it is mixed with industry, or, if you prefer, artifice. In this case, it is not about speaking to the spectator's soul, or of provoking admiration or similar feelings that belong to the domain of art; it is about taking the spectator in, making him accept a copy for the original.[588]

Pinson characterizes this as indicative of a "counterproof" phenomenon sensed in Daguerre's Diorama. He argues that the article "described Daguerre's view of Unterseen as a 'counterproof of reality' in an attempt to explain the difference between the illusory nature of the Diorama and traditional painting." He goes on to point out that in printing, a

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[587] *Times* (London), "Diorama," October 4, 1823, 3.
[588] Pinson, *Speculating Daguerre,* 125.

counterproof is a second, weaker, copy of a print. The counterproof, however, was often used to inspect the original plate as it is in the same state, making it more 'real' or 'original' than the prints themselves. The *Globe* review reveals an anxiety about the spectacles' ability to make the viewer "accept a copy for the original." The counterproof, as Pinson points out, rests on a paradoxical relationship between original and copy, between the authentic and the illusion. Daguerre essentially creates a 'real' space in Mlle de Rigny's park from the Diorama 'copy'.

Daguerre's use of the Diorama as source material for later easel paintings, especially in the case of *Ruins in a Fog* where there really is no other original except the diorama show itself, is much like the impulse to use the diorama as the source for a garden, as indicated by Mentienne's use of the term 'diorama naturel'. The Diorama has become a substitute for, or even preferred to, the scenes that it recreates. This demonstrates that the force of the illusion, the experience created by the Diorama, is more than mere trompe l'oeil. It manifests a reality that can be used and re-purposed in other media. The primacy of experience, and the inclusion of time, permeability and participation, are the key requirements for such an experience.

As an imaginary scene, *Ruins in a Fog* in both its incarnations as a Diorama show and an easel painting pushed the limits of the Diorama's ability to make the public accept the show as 'real'. The fictive space of the *Ruins in a Fog* scene was actualized through the medium of the Diorama. The later easel painting confirms this as is essentially a copy of the 'original' diorama show, while also more specifically defining many of its interpretative characteristics. By placing himself in the imagined scene, and referencing Scotland and likely the literary work associated with Sir Walter Scott, the use of the imagined scene reinforces an idealized French-Scotland relationship.

Inverting illusion and the 'real', representation and original, the implication is that Mlle de Rigny's park becomes like the diorama through Daguerre's interventions. While the Diorama was a theatrical set without actors, its effects and illusionism invited the audience to become the actors. This requires the viewer to recognize his/her part as an actor in the scene, to internalize it and make it a reality in the imagination. In the garden, the desire to physically interact with the fictional space becomes a reality. In the case of the Bry garden, and Daguerre's own home garden, the Diorama is the point of departure for the design, according to Mentienne. Daguerre's diorama paintings become the 'original' which the artist re-creates or imitates in the garden. The 'picturesque' becomes the 'dioramesque', spectacularizing the garden space.

The Diorama painting in the church at Bry further complicates the real or illusory opposition. In the Bry church, the diorama painting serves to elongate a space that is shortened by necessity. It is not just an illusion, it *is* the Cathedral de Bry. This is in a long tradition of spatial elongation using illusion as seen in gardens like Schwetzingen. At Schwetzingen, however, the illusion is not merely a substitute, it also frames the experience of the real landscape beyond the illusion. Similar expectations pervade the narratives of visitors attempting to penetrate the image of the diorama. Being able to find the 'back stage' as it were drives much of the expectation, and in fact thereby heightens the illusion of the diorama spectacle. Its close ties with landscape garden imagery, viewing devices, and a similar reliance on theatrical modes of viewing, mechanics, and set design, drive the conflation in the viewer's expectations.

The Diorama, however, is not just a garden *perspektiv* divorced from its usual context. While I argue that it draws much of its appeal, and visitor's expectations are framed by, the use of illusions in the garden, the real innovation of the Diorama is its evocation of movement and time in a static, two-dimensional medium. In its material

quality, it is closer to Humphry Repton's Red Books than a traditional trompe l'oeil painting. In the Red Books, a whole image is modified by a fragmented overlay, which as it is removed or replaced creates a sense of time and movement. At the Diorama, fragments of the second effect lay under the first, and are revealed through the manipulation of light.

Repton's Red Book illustrations, particularly those with the partial overlay, rely on a fragmentary and ephemeral viewing experience. As the viewer flips over the fragmented overlay, the image changes, and in almost all cases, this change indicates a movement in time, from the present state of the garden to its future potential. Such a building up of fragmentary layers demonstrates the transient, ephemeral quality of time, and is much closer in material and concept to the Diorama. The turning of the overlay removes the built-up layer of fragments to reveal the future possibilities of the landscape in the 'improved' view. Like the paintings in the Diorama, those fragments are always present and the viewer is able to see the transformation replayed as often as he or she desires. Yet the entirety of those images insists on vision part by part.[589] In the act of revealing and concealing, the diorama spectacle enacts a similar aesthetic as that of the Red Book images which reveals itself to the viewer or visitor, relying on the visitor's imagination and physical participation to become whole. That the diorama often displayed images of ruins, or similar scenes familiar from picturesque tourism, further enforces this connection.

While the Diorama painting in the church is an illusion it is not a mere trompe l'oeil, a mere trick for the eye. Rather, it provides a fictive space, an illusion, that is true. The illusion becomes interesting, an object of admiration, engagement, and participation,

[589] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, 104.

only once it is acknowledged as such. In that engagement, the viewer enters into a dialogue with the work, allowing him/her self to be fooled and at the same time seeking to establish the fiction as a fake. By entering in to this dialogue, the illusion becomes part of the mental process in which the visitor engages, becoming 'real' by its participation in the space in the mind of the viewer. In this process, the truth of the space is encountered, that which lies beyond the visible/tangible. In the Bry church, the illusion participates in the space by manifesting the invisible presence of the heavenly cathedral. The experience of the church and the landscape garden at Bry are both implicitly framed by the earlier Diorama spectacle, as indicated in reviews and descriptions. In these spaces, the real and the imaginary are pushed to their limits through illusionary images, to create within this small town both an illusionary image that is 'true', and a 'real' landscape that is nonetheless a fiction, or the realization of the illusory experience of the Diorama.

Evoking the true in the illusion recalls Baudelaire's comments in his review of the 1859 Salon. Reprinted in 1868, this essay on landscape painting refers to the Diorama specifically, after taking landscape painters at the Salon to task for having neither natural beauties nor imagination in their scenes.

> Je désir être ramené vers les dioramas dont la magie brutale et énorme sait m'imposer une utile illusion. Je préfère contempler quelques décors de théâtre, où je trouve artistement exprimés et tragiquement concentrés, mes rêves les plus chers. Ces choses, parce qu'elles sont fausses, sont infiniment plus près du vrai; tandis que la plupart de nos paysagistes sont des menteurs, justement parce qu'ils ont négligé de mentir.[590]

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[590] Charles. Baudelaire, *Curiosités Esthétiques: Salon 1845 – 1859*. (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1868): 338. Author's translation: "I wish to be brought back to the dioramas, where the brutal and enormous magic knew how to create a useful illusion. I prefer to contemplate some theatrical sets, where I find my dearest dreams artistically expressed and tragically concentrated. These things, because they are false, are infinitely closer to truth; whereas the majority of our landscape painters are liars, exactly because they have neglected to lie."

At the Diorama, Baudelaire recalls the theatrical medium capable of expressing his dearest dreams. Only a decade after Daguerre's park, Baudelaire recalls those illusions of the Diorama as being closer to the truth because they are false. Whereas the landscape painters at the Salon are liars simply because they have neglected the lie. They have neglected the illusion, and in their efforts to represent what is 'real' have neglected what is true.

As an illusion, the diorama evokes that which is beyond the visually present, the 'real', to access that which is true, that which is imagined or desired. The illusion is used to create a scene that is a fabrication, but in its interaction with the viewer, becomes a 'reality'. Baudelaire's comment is preceded by the truth of the fabrication as it developed at Wimpole, and by the use of illusion to frame and enact change in the landscape as demonstrated at Schwetzingen. Repton's Red Books take this a step further, anticipating a theatrical and illusionary device as a way to interact with the landscape. In the diorama, the viewer's 'dearest dreams' manifest themselves in the all-encompassing spectacle, an illusory experience that is no less true for its falsity. Or, in Baudelaire's estimation, because it is false, and therefore relies on imagination, it is closer to the truth. To call Mlle de Rigny's park, then, a natural Diorama is to position it as the idealized realization of the 'true', the illusion manifest, a true dream that we can inhabit.

Conclusion(s)

As noted in the Introduction, fabricated ruins are often treated in scholarship despite their status as illusionary, deceptive objects. There is little consideration of them as anything except as containers for otherwise absent iconographic symbolism. That is, they substitute for what the landscape owner or designer does not have 'authentically'. As demonstrated in chapter one, however, this was not always the case. The spatial and temporal illusion of the fabricated ruin at Wimpole acted as the material manifestation of the Yorkes' scholarly endeavors. At Schwetzingen the fabricated ruin is foregrounded by the experience of the *Perspektiv*, a wholly illusionary device. In chapters three and four, ruins are less urgent, yet the shift from ruins specifically to fragments and fragmentary experience indicate the prevalence of a theatrical mode of interaction and viewing.

Fragments generally, and fabricated ruins more specifically, are ideal for studying the symbolic and real paradox at the heart of the 'natural' landscape garden. Their deteriorated, or more accurately in dealing with *fabriques* their apparently incomplete nature allows the imagination to fill in the gaps, as was suggested by Thomas Whately. The use of the imagination is the element that seems to have be downplayed too often in subsequent scholarship. Giving the imagination time and space to create a narrative is what gives the ruins such a forceful illusion. Ruins, like the Diorama, both rely on processes of fragmentation and a coordinated effort between nature and art. Both in the ruined form, and in the diorama, there is a sense that the boundaries between interior and exterior dissolve through the participation in the scene by visitor/viewer. Given the material and conceptual framing of the landscape by these illusory devices, the use of landscape scenes, especially those that include ruins, further associates this quality with the diorama.

Ruins themselves are indicative of time expressly. Their fragmentation is not just a piece missing in space, but dis-placed in time. The event of that displacement is what gives the intensity to the possible associations, the stories that might explain these fragments. Fabricated ruins do allude to historical association, but they also imply a more general concept of time.[591] Natural cycles of growth and decay, as well as more immediate concerns with weather and time of day affect the landscape garden experience, and are essential to the form of the fabricated ruin as indicated in treatises that emphasize the need for time and growth to properly complete a fabricated ruin. The apparent fragmentation enacts a spatial indication of a temporal effect, whether historical (manmade destruction, for instance) or natural (such as weather, time of day, the growth and decay of vegetation). They also insist on history, that is a human-centered sense of time.

The emphasis on history in this shift in historical mindedness bring to the foreground the apparent antiquity of the fabricated ruin. The form of the ruin evokes historical associations. This particular type of fragment relies on eliciting those associations. The fabricated nature brings in the process of illusion as an experiential aspect of the landscape garden. In *Inventions of History,* Stephen Bann emphasizes the importance of the historical imagination in his investigation of the ways in which various eras have attempted to come to terms with history. In that text, he stresses that in any discussion of history, "we cannot forget that our ways of making sense of history must emphasize the *making*."[592] In the form of the fabricated ruin, this is explicit. While a

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[591] Handa and Potter, eds. *Conjuring the Real*, 12. "The incompleteness of the ruins worked as synechdoche, not only reminding the viewer of the perfect and pristine state of the original building, but also, and more important, demonstrating the infinity of time and the power of nature, which inevitably governs all mortals and their creations."
[592] Bann, *The Inventions of History*, 9.

'real' ruin evokes historical association, the illusion of the fabricated ruin points to the very act of making.

Bringing in the imagined past relates these histories to the imaginative processes traced in the landscape garden in chapters one and two. The presence of this imagined history is further felt through the figure of Sir Walter Scott, both in relation to the Diorama and in his comments on the theatricality of Repton's Red Books. Scott's work at Abbotsford indicates a shift in historical mindedness and relationship with the fragment, as discussed by Bann in his analysis of Abbotsford and Newstead. This is further enforced by the distinction between the Yorkes' view of Philip Yorke's antiquarian interests.

Engaging with these (hi)stories in the landscape requires a participatory, performative experience. As demonstrated throughout this project, landscape gardens and theaters are connected by more than just etymology or the appropriation of form and imagery. Reliance on ephemerality and illusion is essential in both, making them experientially similar, allowing for easy transference of experiential frameworks between them. The landscape garden is, above all, a work of art. Repton's work, particularly in the frontispiece to the Pavilion at Brighton, emphasizes that deception was the key to elevating landscape gardening to an Art.[593]

The English landscape garden is particular in its use of theatricality because it requires a level of illusion that effaces itself, to create the illusion of untouched nature. As a space, the English landscape garden performs, as does the visitor, to enact the story of the space. The fragmentary aesthetic is key to this ephemeral and participatory quality.

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[593] Deception and imagination are relatively well worn subjects in art and art history, but we should not lose sight of these as terms and concepts that were intensely investigated and negotiated during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe. Though many use these terms, their meanings shift and react to the specifics of the site, experience, designer, and viewer.

To return to Whately for a moment, he notes that fabricated ruins naturally form associations, and that is the basis of their appeal. His reductive analysis of the *fabrique* notwithstanding, this participatory quality of the landscape garden is essential to its allure. Furthermore, it is that very quality the fabricated ruin elicits in the use of fragmentary aesthetic. The illusionary quality of the fabrication indicates the creative function of the imagination. Separated from any 'real' historical or architectural whole, the fabricated ruin frees the imagination to create fictive realities, illusions that nonetheless have a physically 'real' counterpart in the landscape.

The illusion of history, or immediacy, or a prospect, requires an experience that involves a process of being taken in, and then discovering the fiction. It is the latter part of the process that is the focus of this study. What happens when the fabrication is understood or discovered? At Wimpole, it initiated the viewer into the intellectual circle of the Yorkes, by understanding the fictional qualities of their *fabriques*, and by appreciating their place in the landscape. At Schwetzingen, once the illusory nature of the painted prospect is understood, the visitor must relinquish the view in order to find the scene in reality, but in order to attempt to achieve such a view requires encountering and participating in yet another, though more solidly manifested, fiction in the form of the *jardin anglais* and Roman Aqueduct. Repton's Red Books require the viewer to participate in the fiction of the improvement suggestion, to enact the raree show themselves, in a mode that becomes a framework for garden improvement in general. In the Diorama, discovering the illusion is both the intense draw and critique of the shows power. That this illusion then becomes a counterproof original, the source for a 'natural' landscape garden, brings the experience full circle, the picturesque culminating in the diorama-esque.

The case studies in each of these chapters are not definitive. In these cases, concepts of illusion and authenticity are actively constructed, negotiated, experienced, and represented. In each case, the fabricated or illusionary nature of the object is clear. Beyond being understood, the illusion of the fabricated object was often the basis for its allure. Being able to frame the experience, of a landscape or a spectacle like the diorama, in terms of a pleasurable deception created a framework within which the visitor or viewer's imagination was able to participate in that illusion while maintaining an understanding of its fabrication.

By approaching the landscape as a manifestation of the process of imagination, it becomes clear that garden follies, and fabricated ruins in particular, are not merely substitutes for an absent 'real' version. Rather, they generate and participate in a culture of fiction and theatrical illusion that is an integral part of the landscape, and that extends beyond the garden into the cultural milieu of both patron and visitor. As a fictional and experiential space, a fabricated ruin creates a space to negotiate both historical authenticity, and the role of illusion and imagination. The intersection of garden and theatre, history, antiquarianism and the physical landscape, are all essential to the ruin in the landscape. Fabricated ruins add the element of imagination, fiction, and re-creation, throwing into question the very nature of authenticity and our relation to history.

FURTHER RESEARCH

In the process of researching this project, several possible avenues of further research came to light. Presented together, these case studies offer a variety of attitudes toward illusion in the landscape, whether physical or representational, from the mid-eighteenth to early-nineteenth century. Yet these themes naturally extend into several possible areas of research that go beyond the scope of this study.

In the landscape garden, one of the most surprising absences from the scholarship was the role of private theatricals in the early English landscape garden. Though much has been done to elucidate the ties between theaters, theatrical concepts and forms, and the landscape garden, little has been done to discuss actual theatrical productions and fêtes in gardens. As ephemeral events that rely primarily on a reception-based approach, these aspects of the garden have been difficult to research, yet they are an integral part of the ways in which those spaces were built, understood, and experienced. To take this further, theoretical approaches to the landscape as theatrical have yet to fully explore the wide range of theatrical possibilities during the period. Further explanation of the differences between fête, spectacle, entertainment, and theater (as indicated in various sources from the period, including Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Lettre à Monsieur d'Alembert*) and their relation to landscape would provide a more nuanced theoretical approach to the study of landscape design and experience.

The experience of the landscapes in this study, especially in reaction to these illusory qualities, often resulted in various analogies to magic or enchantment. The proliferation of comments on landscape gardens that ascribe supernatural or magical abilities to designers, such as calling them magicians, or the landscape, as created through 'visionary touches', beg for commentary that is not fully developed in the literature. These turns of phrase, especially in light of the change in attitudes toward illusion, would benefit from a more thorough analysis.

Comments that evoke magic or enchantment were particularly common in reactions to Daguerre's work. Though much has been done regarding that artist, especially concerning his photographic works, there are noticeable gaps in his work in Bry-sur-Marne. The remaining evidence of the Bry garden, for instance, offers several possible avenues of research, including archives of the family, and renovations to the

castle and the site of Daguerre's home. These could help pinpoint some of the more obscure details, as well as be the starting point for further work on the place of the landscape garden in Revolutionary-period France. To this could be added previous works, especially the translation of the *jardin anglais* in France as it manifested during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Beyond Daguerre's influence, further work could also be done concerning the connections between the Diorama and the Wauxhall in Paris, and further research into other examples of theatrical gardens and garden theaters. The discussion of these spectacles have tended to emphasize the country/city divide that has predominated many accounts of landscape gardens. A reconsideration of such spaces as landscapes would shed considerable light on how patrons and visitors moved between theses spaces, and what the urban landscape and the country estate indicate about the other.

Given that this is a study of authenticity and fabrication, the lack of discussion of popular literary forgeries is notable. There were several reasons for limiting the discussion of forgeries in this study. First, there are several well-researched discussions of forgery, particularly in English literary scholarship. The prevalence of literary forgeries indicates a pervasive culture grappling with what it means to be 'real', 'fake', and the value of imagination and fabrication during the period. While several scholars have discussed literary forgery, such issues are no less important to the history of art, where histories of forgeries are just beginning to gain some attention.

A wide variety of objects could have been added to this study. Many of the spectacles discussed in this project underwent a series of translations into toys, small-scale versions, and other media. One of the most interesting of these is a miniature landscape called *The Gentleman's Park Dissected*, currently owned by the Yale Center for British Art. Along with the Portable Diorama, Protean Views, and other visual media,

these small-format devices could offer a more nuanced discussion of the culture of illusion, especially as it extends into the later nineteenth century. While these have been the subject of some recent research, including extensive works by Barbara Stafford and Erkki Huhtamo, there is still work to be done on a variety of similar objects. In light of the shift in illusion, it would be worthwhile to study these objects with a focus on the implications of translating such illusions into these formats.

Figures

Figure 1: Gothic Tower and folly complex. Photograph by the author, 2015, by kind permission of the National Trust.

Figure 2: Rousham Eyecatcher, Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 3: Rousham Eyecatcher, Faded, Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 4: Rousham Eyecatcher, backed by shadows, Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 5: Shugborough Dining Room, Photograph by the author, 2015, by kind permission of the National Trust.

Figure 6: View of the ruin at Shugborough from the hall, Photograph by the author, 2015, by kind permission of the National Trust.

Figure 7: Nicholas T. Dall, A.R.A. *The Ruins*, 1775. © National Trust Images.

Figure 8: Mithraic Altar, Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, Photograph by the author, 2014.

Figure 9: Mithraic Altar, Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, Photograph by the author, 2014.

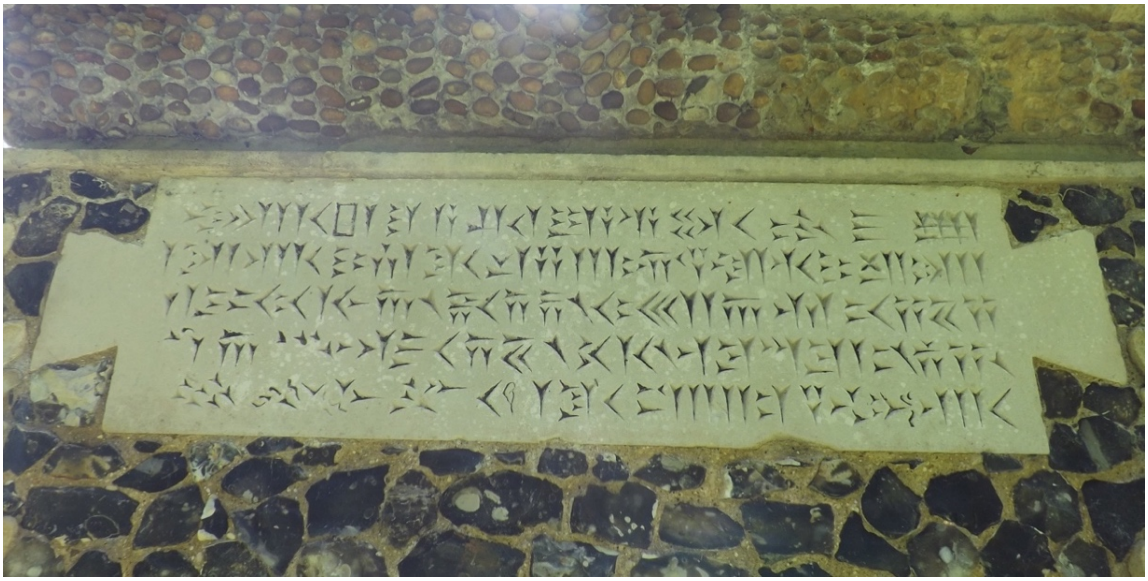

Figure 10: Mithraic Altar Detail, 'Persic' Inscription, Photograph by the author, 2014.

Figure 11: Mithraic Altar Detail, Greek Inscription, Photograph by the author, 2014.

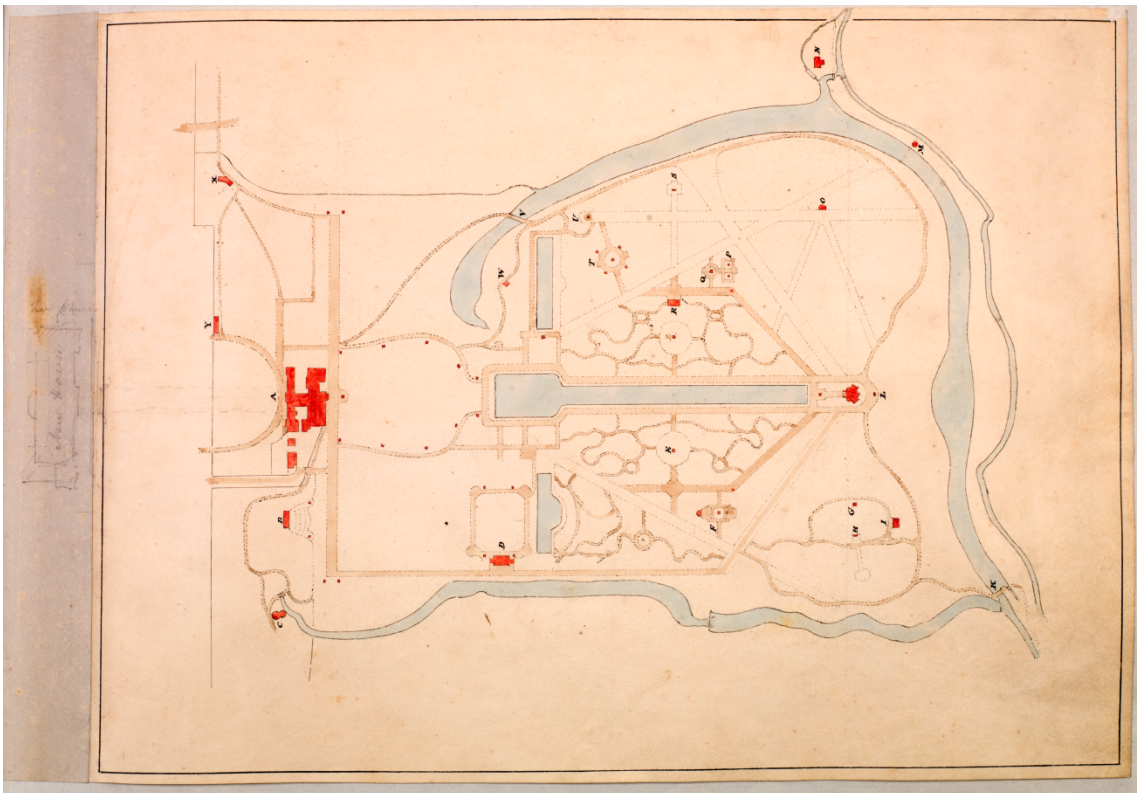

Figure 12: Photographic copy of a page from an album entitled “Views of Wrest” dating from 1831, showing a plan of the West Gardens, Wrest Park, Wrest Park, Silsoe, Central Bedfordshire. Historic England Archives DP110018 © Historic England Archive. Private Collection.

Figure 13: Photographic copy of a page from an album entitled “Views of Wrest” dating from 1831, showing an illustration of the Altar. Wrest Park, Wrest Park, Silsoe, Central Bedfordshire. Historic England Archive DP110066 © Historic England Archive. Private Collection.

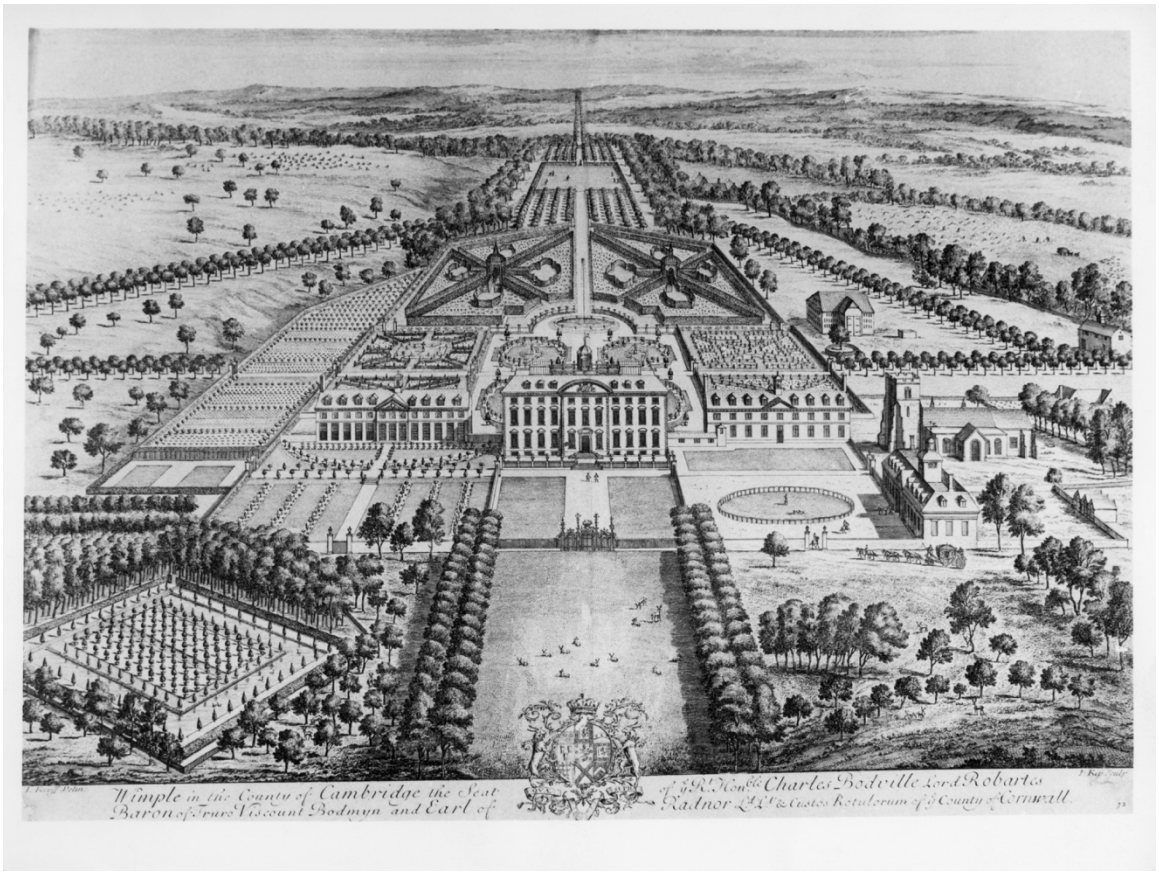

Figure 14: Johannes Kip, *View of Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire,* 1707. National Trust WIM/D/589 © National Trust Images/S. Hobhouse.

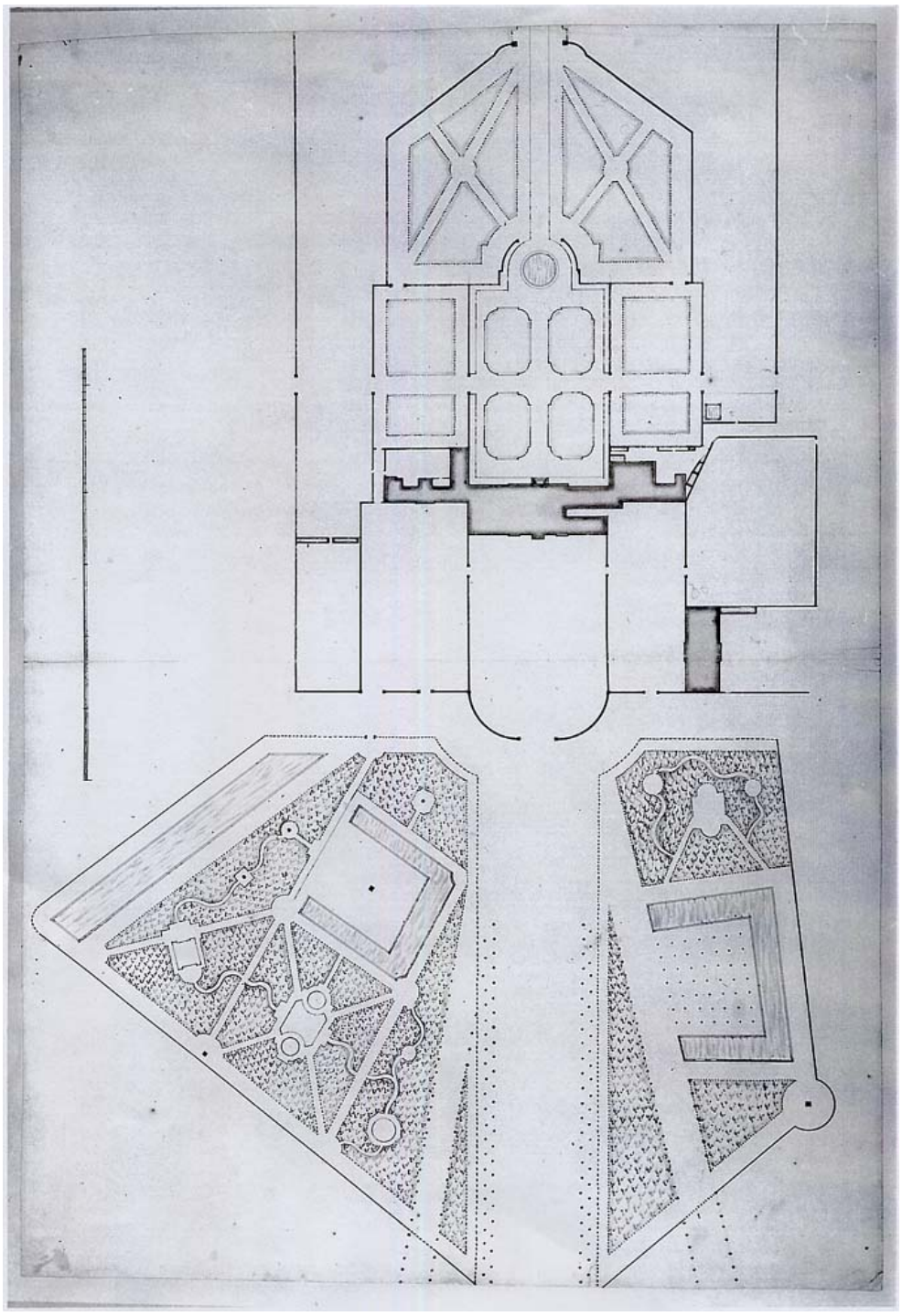

Figure 15: Charles Bridgeman, Survey and final proposals for the gardens to the south of the house, c. 1721 – 5. National Trust, WIM/D/464 © National Trust/Geremy Butler.

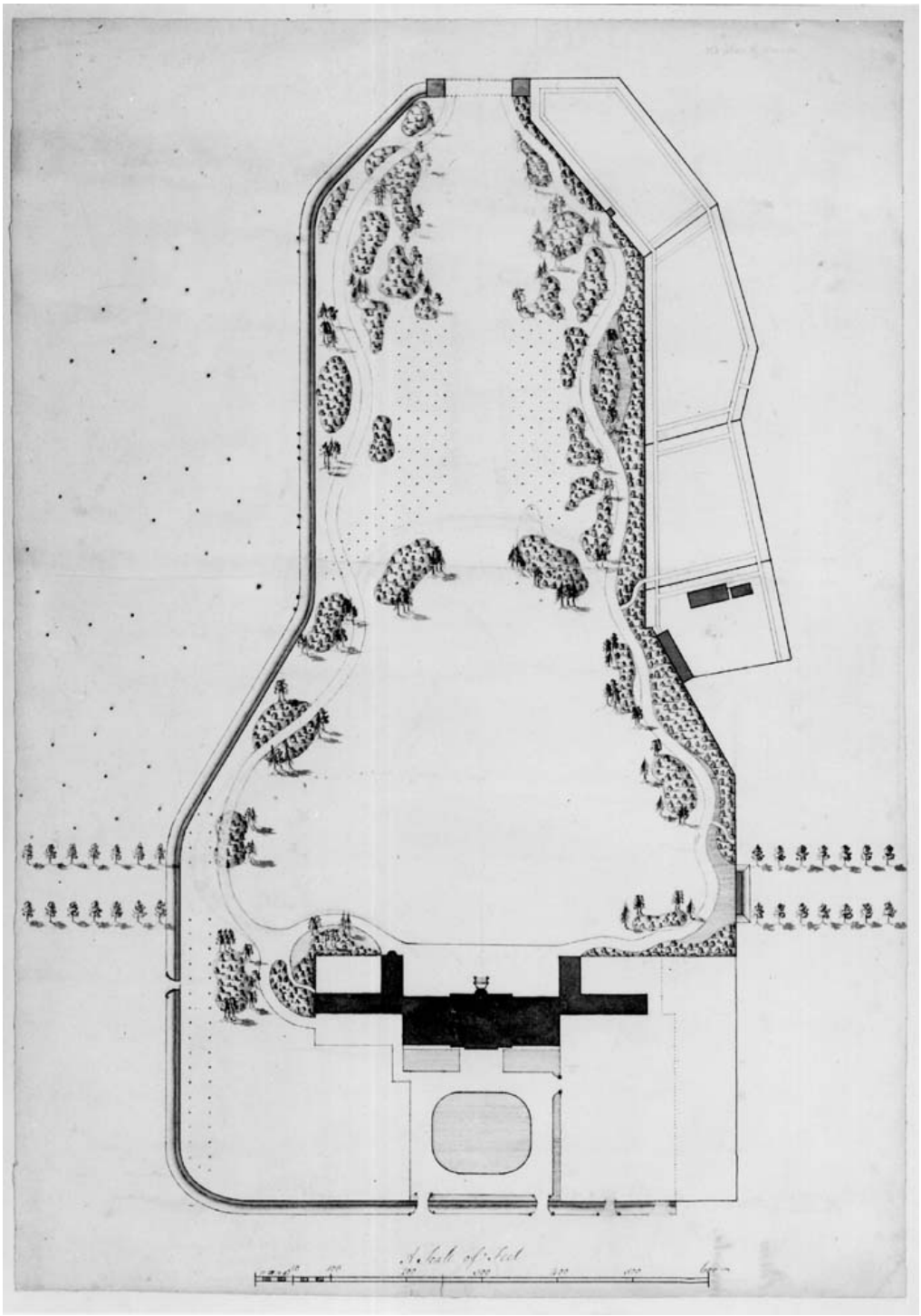

Figure 16: Robert Greening, Proposal for the gardens to the north of the house, c. 1752. National Trust, WIM/D/456 © National Trust.

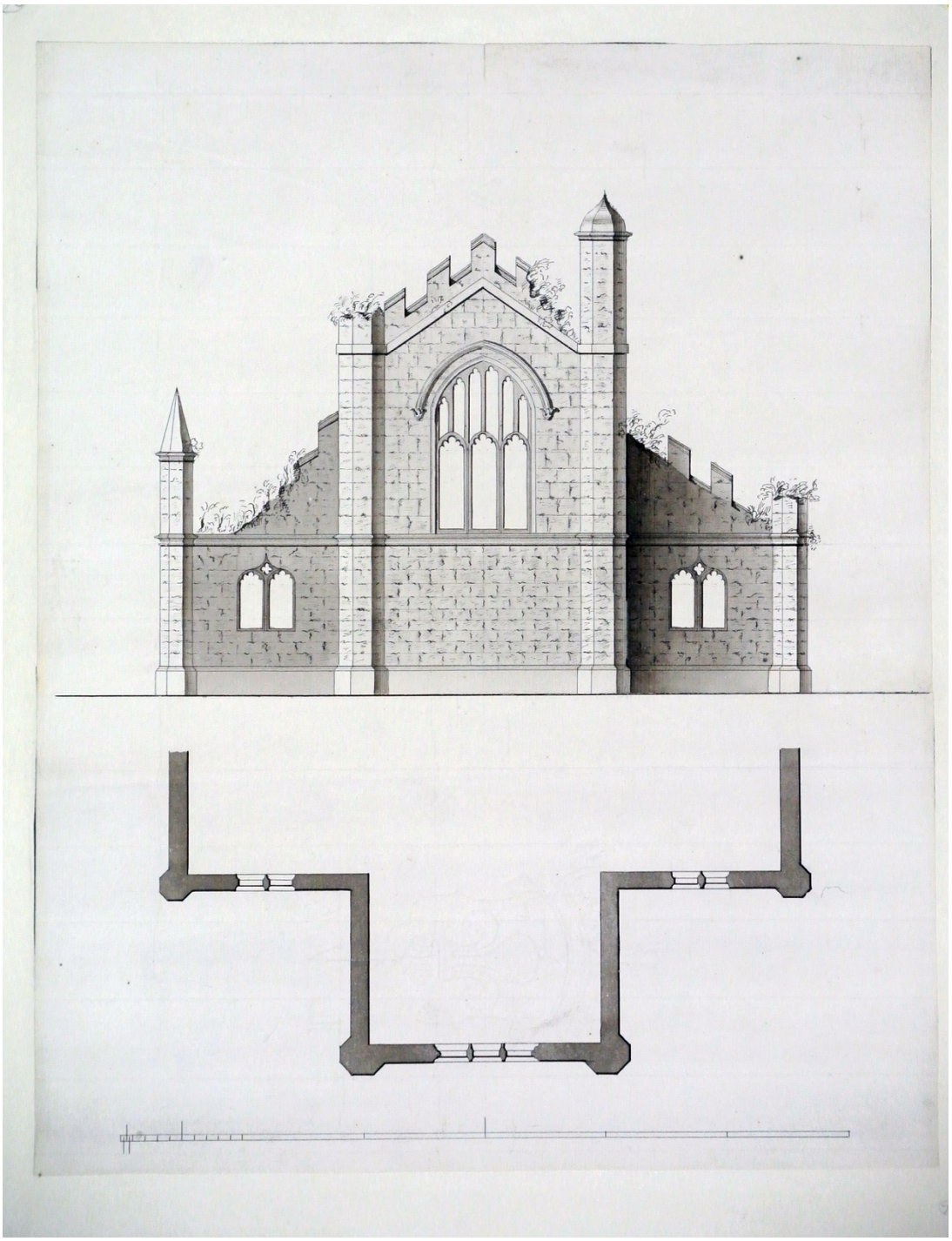

Figure 17: Elevation and plan for a gothic eyecatcher, c. 1749. (Attributed to Henry Flitcroft, see Adshead, *Wimpole*, 48) National Trust WIM/D/450 © National Trust.

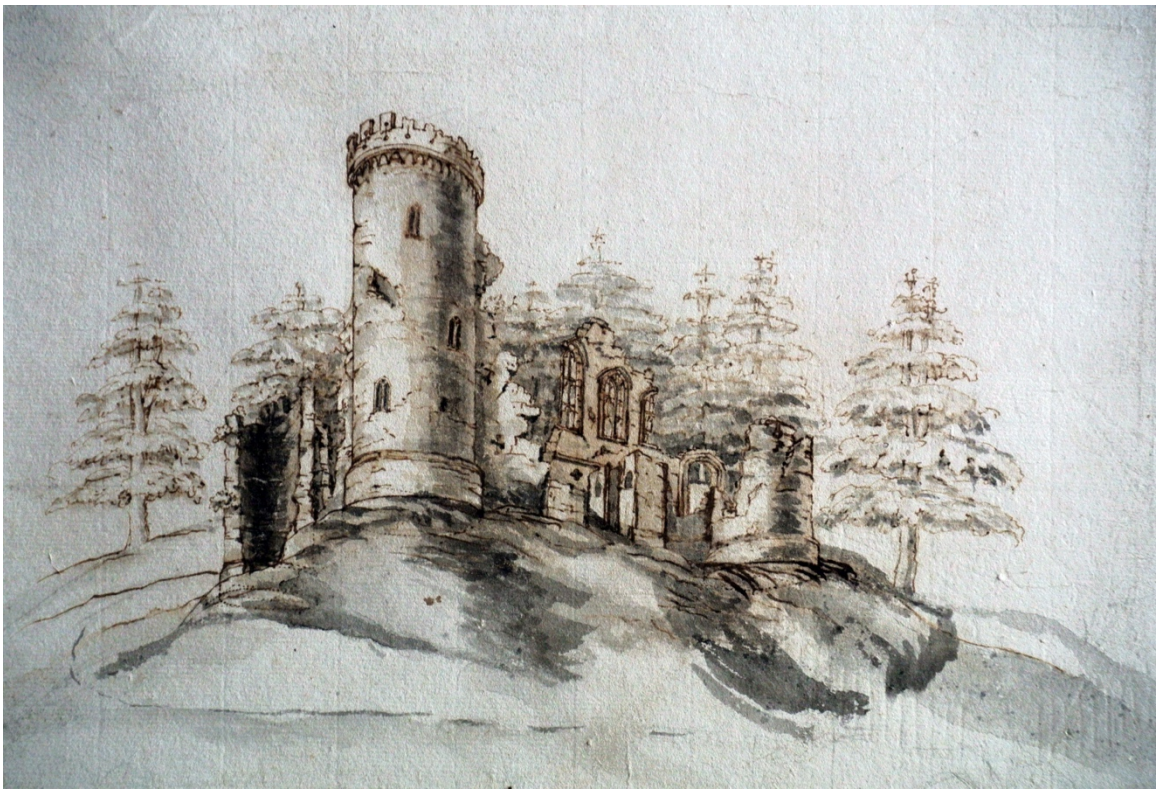

Figure 18: Sanderson Miller, Perspective drawing for the folly at Wimpole, c. 1749 – 51. National Trust, WIM/D/455 © National Trust.

Figure 19: View from the hill near the Ruin at Hagley, Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 20: Hagley Ruin, Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 21: Sanderson Miller, Elevation drawing A, c. 1749 – 51. National Trust, WIM/D/452 © National Trust.

Figure 22: Sanderson Miller, Elevation drawing B, c. 1749 – 51. National Trust, WIM/D/453 © National Trust.

Figure 23: Sanderson Miller, Elevation drawing C, c. 1749 – 51. National Trust, WIM/D/454 © National Trust.

Figure 24: Anonymous. 'Before' and 'After' plans of the North Park, after 1767. National Trust, WIM/D/451 © National Trust.

Figure 25: "The Park-Buildings at Wimple, Cambridgeshire, the Seat of the Earl of Hardwicke," in The Westminster Review, vol. 9 (1781): plate between 64 and 65. British Museum 1877,1013.1325 © Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 26: The Gothic Tower at Wimpole from the Hall, Photograph by the author, 2015, by kind permission of the National Trust.

Figure 27: Gothic Tower at Wimpole, from the base of the Tower, Photograph by the author, 2014, by kind permission of the National Trust.

Figure 28: North façade of the Gothic Tower at Wimpole, Photograph by the author, 2015, by kind permission of the National Trust.

Figure 29: Richard Bankes Harraden, *Tower in Wimpole Park*, Cambridgeshire Collection, Cambridge Central Library, UK.

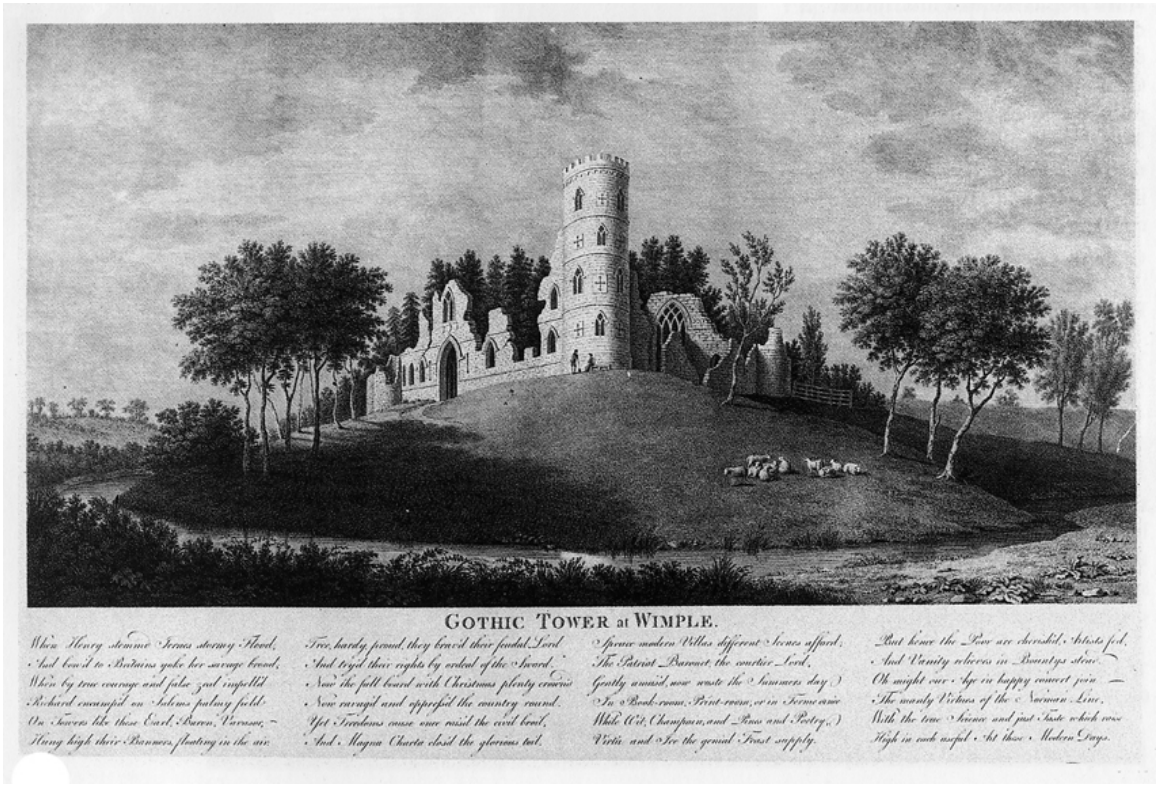

Figure 30: Anonymous, View of the Gothic Tower at Wimpole, 1777. National Trust, WIM/D/559 © National Trust.

Figure 31: View of the Hall at Wimpole from the Gothic Tower, Photograph by the author, 2014, by kind permission of the National Trust.

Figure 32: Gothic Tower at Wimpole, West curtain wall, Photograph by the author, 2014, by kind permission of the National Trust.

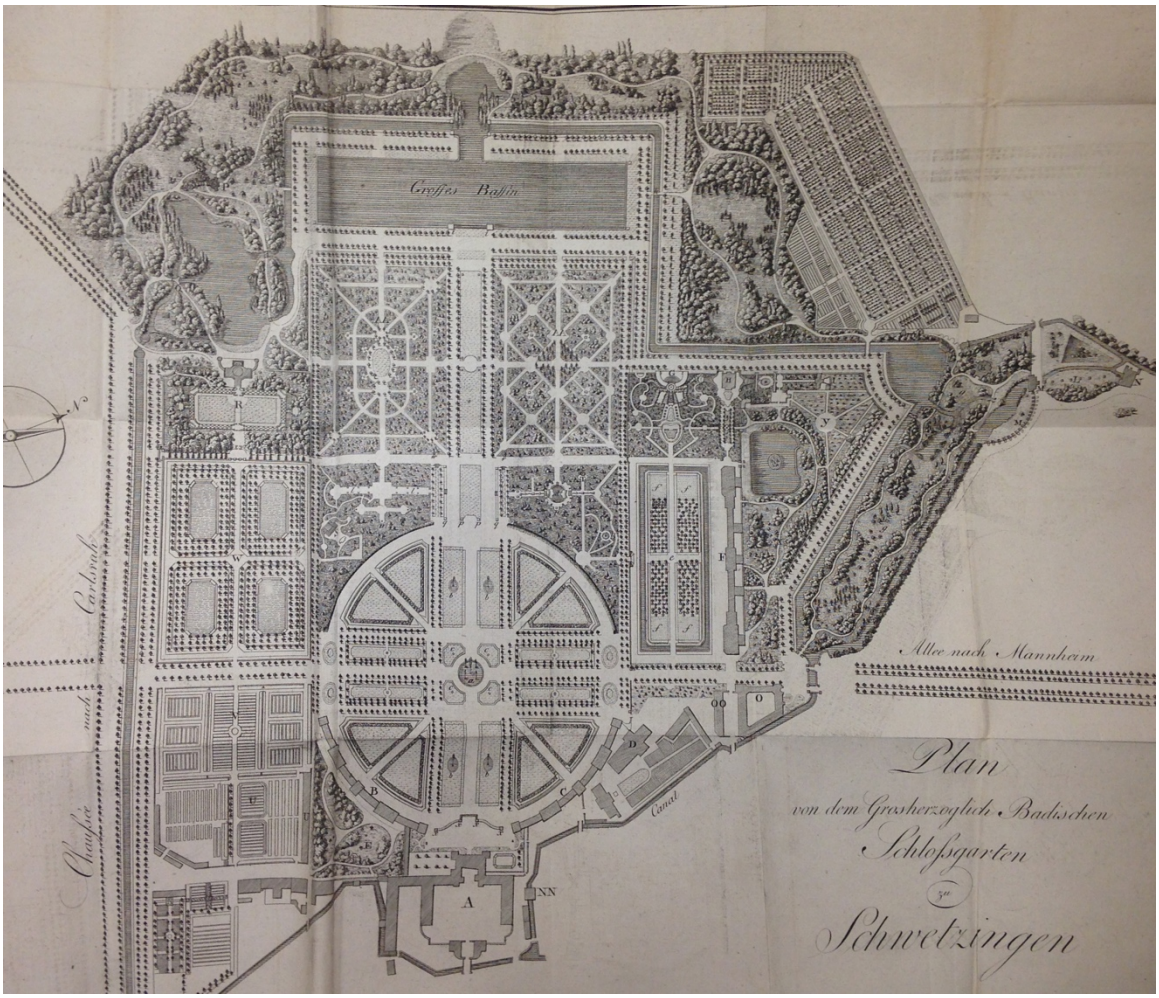

Figure 33: Map of Schwetzingen, foldout from *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen*, Paris: n.d. c. 1814 – 1816. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

Figure 34. Detail showing the northern gardens with annotations, Map of Schwetzingen, foldout from *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen*, Paris: n.d. c. 1814 – 1816. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

Figure 35: *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen*, Templ der Wald Botanic, plate facing p. 14. Paris: n.d. c. 1814 – 1816. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

Figure 36: Temple of Botany. Johann Zeyher, *Schwetzingen und seine Garten-Anlagen*. Mannheim: Schwann & Goetzische, 1826 © Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Rare Book Collection, Washington, DC.

Figure 37: Serpent Cascade, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 38: Pan's Grotto, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 39: Nature Theater and the Apollo Temple, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 40: Nature Theater 'Auditorium', Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 41: Apollo Temple and Cascade, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 42: Inside the Apollo Temple, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 43: Bathhouse from the gardens, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 44: Fountain in the Bathhouse gardens, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 45: *Perspektiv* seen through the tunnel and grotto, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 46: Perspektiv wall from Outside, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

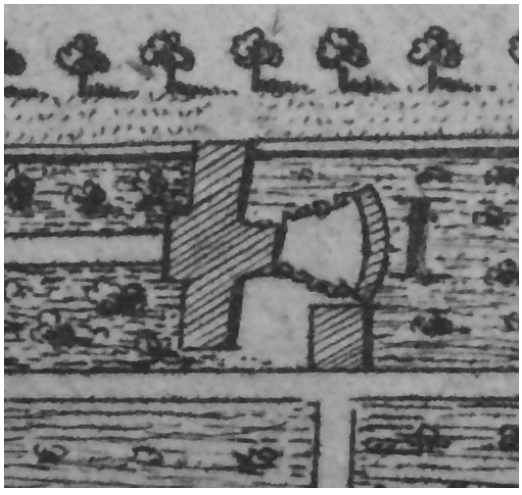

Figure 47: Detail of Grotto plan, from map in *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen*, Paris, n.d. c. 1814 – 1816. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

Figure 48: *Perspektiv*, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 49: Roman Aqueduct, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 50: Arcade and Obelisk attached to Roman Aqueduct, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 51: Neptune Relief above the entrance to the Roman Aqueduct, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 52: Ruin, cascade, and water feature, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 53: Detail of Map showing the Nature Temple, Bathhouse, and Roman Aqueduct. *Description du jardin de Schwetzingen*, Paris: n.d. c. 1814 – 1816. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

Figure 54: View from the top of the Roman Aqueduct, Palace gardens at Schwetzingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Photograph by the author, 2015.

Figure 55: Humphry Repton, View from the Pleasure Grounds with overlay, Red Book for Brandsbury at Wilsden, f.15 with flap. 1789 © Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Rare Book Collection, Washington, DC.

Figure 56: Humphry Repton, View from the Pleasure Grounds with overlay, Red Book for Brandsbury at Wilsden, f.15 without flap. 1789 © Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Rare Book Collection, Washington, DC.

Figure 57: Humphry Repton, View from the Pleasure Grounds with overlay, Red Book for Brandsbury at Wilsden, f.15 detail of flap. 1789 © Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Rare Book Collection, Washington, DC.

Figure 58: Humphry Repton, Wimpole Hall Red Book, Plate 1, View of the North Park with overlay, 1801. National Trust, WIM.D.485a © National Trust Images.

Figure 59: Humphry Repton, Wimpole Hall Red Book, Plate 1, View of the North Park without overlay, 1801. National Trust, WIM.D.485a © National Trust Image/Angelo Hornak.

Figure 60: Humphry Repton, Wimpole Hall Red Book, Plate 2, View of the Lake Edge with an Urn, 1801. National Trust, WIM.D.486 © National Trust Images/A C Cooper.

Figure 61: Humphry Repton, Wimpole Hall Red Book, Plate 3, Proposal for the Remodeling of the Hill House, 1801. WIM.D.488 © National Trust Images/Angelo Hornak.

Figure 62: Humphry Repton, Wimpole Hall Red Book, Plate 4, View of Brick End Cottages, with overlay, 1801. National Trust, WIM.D.489, Photograph by the author, by kind permission of the National Trust.

Figure 63: Humphry Repton, Wimpole Hall, Red Book, Plate 4, View of Brick End Cottages, without overlay, 1801. National Trust, WIM.D.489, Photograph by the author, by kind permission of the National Trust.

Figure 64: Humphry Repton, Wimpole Hall, Red Book, Plate 5, Proposals for Cottage near the Old Kennel, with overlay, 1801. National Trust, WIM.D.487, Photograph by the author, by kind permission of the National Trust.

Figure 65: Humphry Repton, Wimpole Hall, Red Book, Plate 5, Proposals for Cottage near the Old Kennel, with overlay, 1801. National Trust, WIM.D.487, Photograph by the author, by kind permission of the National Trust.

Figure 66: Survey Map of Wimpole, Included with the Wimpole Red Book, 1801, Photograph by the author, by kind permission of the National Trust.

Figure 67: Humphry Repton, Wimpole Hall Red Book, Plate 6, Proposals for the South Front of the Hall, Church and Stables, with overlay, 1801. National Trust, WIM.D.490 © National Trust Images/A C Cooper.

Figure 68: Humphry Repton, Wimpole Hall Red Book, Plate 6, Proposals for the South Front of the Hall, Church and Stables, without overlay, 1801. National Trust, WIM.D.490 © National Trust Images/A C Cooper.

Figure 69: Anonymous, after Egbert van Heemskerck II. O Rare Schow, c. 1680 – 1700 Mezzotint. British Museum, 1988,0514.56 © Trustees of the British Museum.

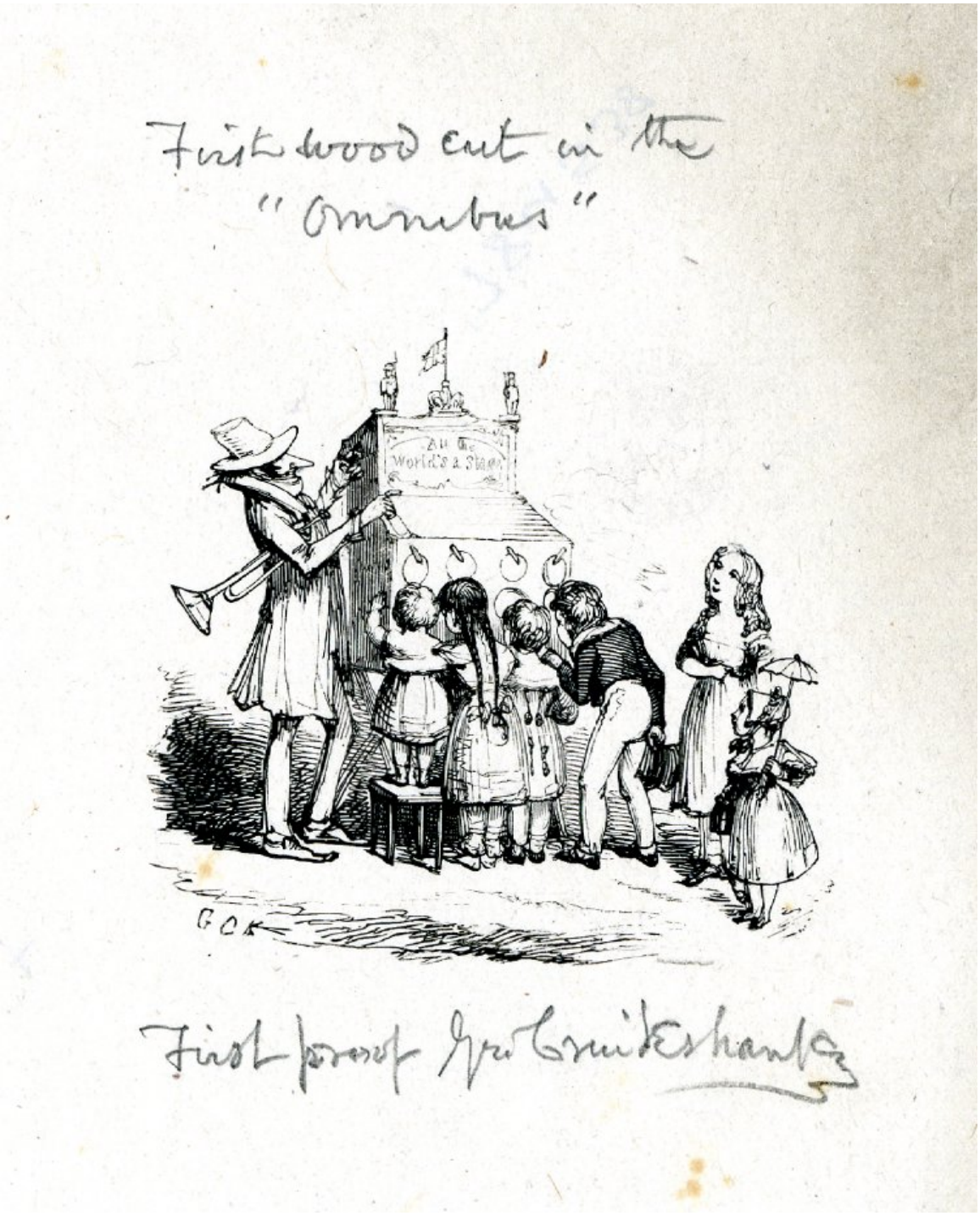

Figure 70: George Cruikshanks, Illustration for "George Cruikshank's Omnibus" (1842) British Museum, 1978,U.538 © Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 71: The Political Raree-Show, or a Picture of Parties and Politics during and at the close of the last session of Parliament, June 1779. Published in *Westminster Magazine*, July 1st, 1779. British Museum, 1956,0814.5 © Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 72: Humphry Repton, Flora Cherishing Winter, Frontispiece from *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton*. Assisted by John Adey Repton and G.S. Repton. London: T. Bensley, 1808. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

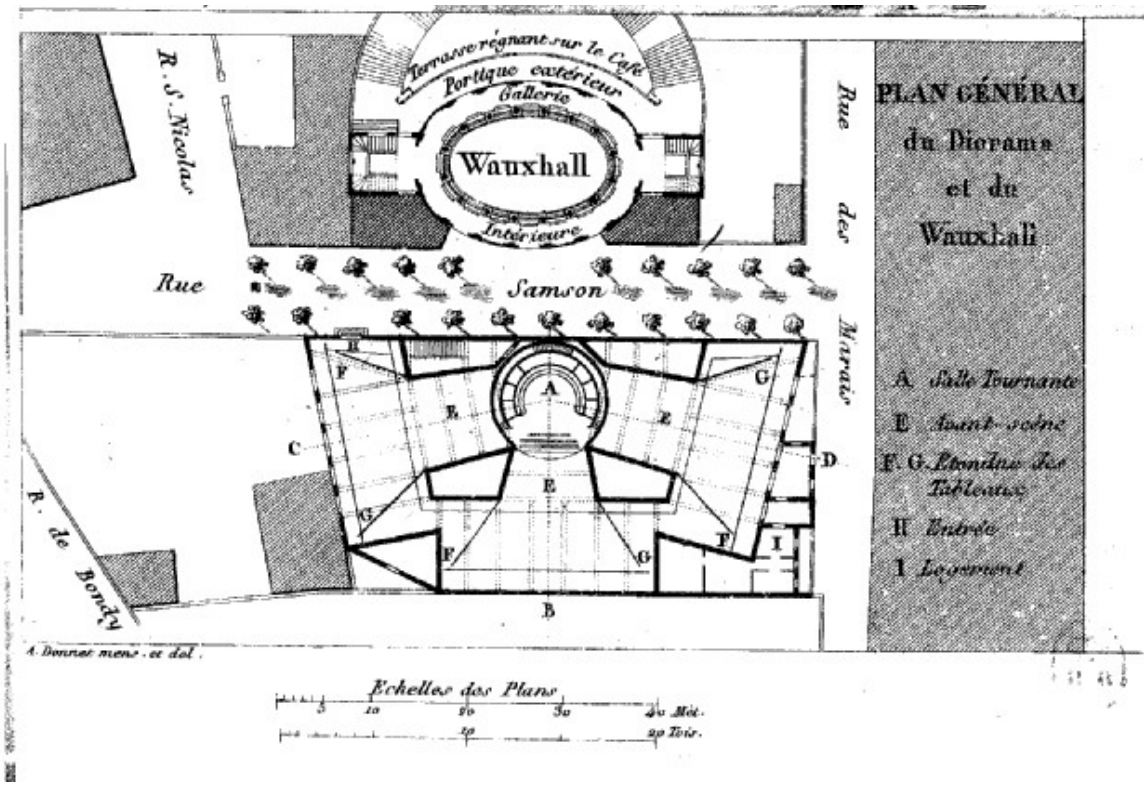

Figure 73. Diorama et Wauxhall, Paris. Alexis Donnet et Orgiazzi et continué par J. A Kaufmann, *Architectonographie des théâtres de Paris,* (Lacroix et Baudry: Paris, 1837) Series 1, plate 23. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

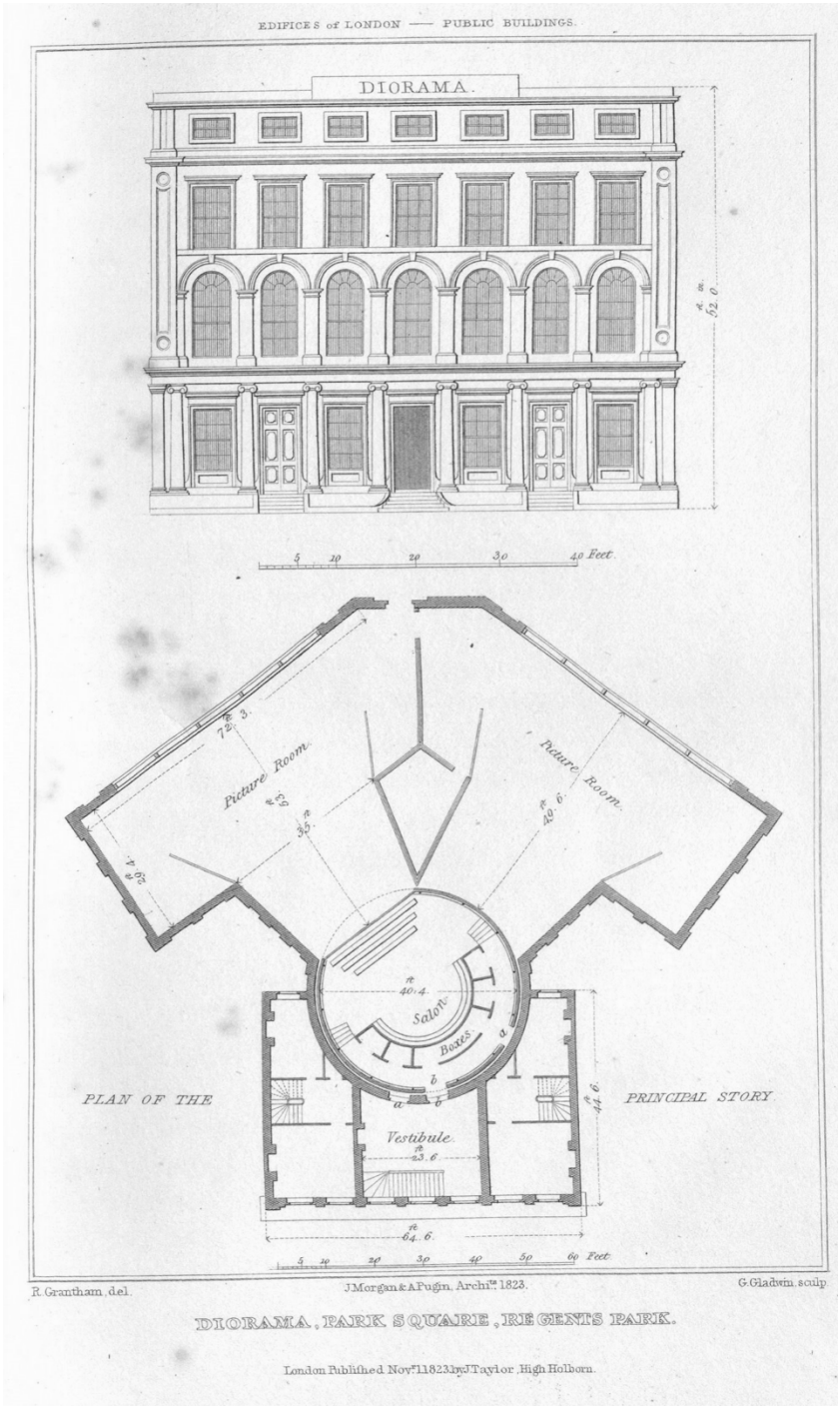

Figure 74: Diorama, Park Square, Regents Park: Plan of the Principal Story. John Britton and A. Pugin *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London. With historical and descriptive accounts of each edifice,* (J. Taylor: London, 1825) vol. 1, plate opposite p. 70. Image source: The University of Texas at Austin.

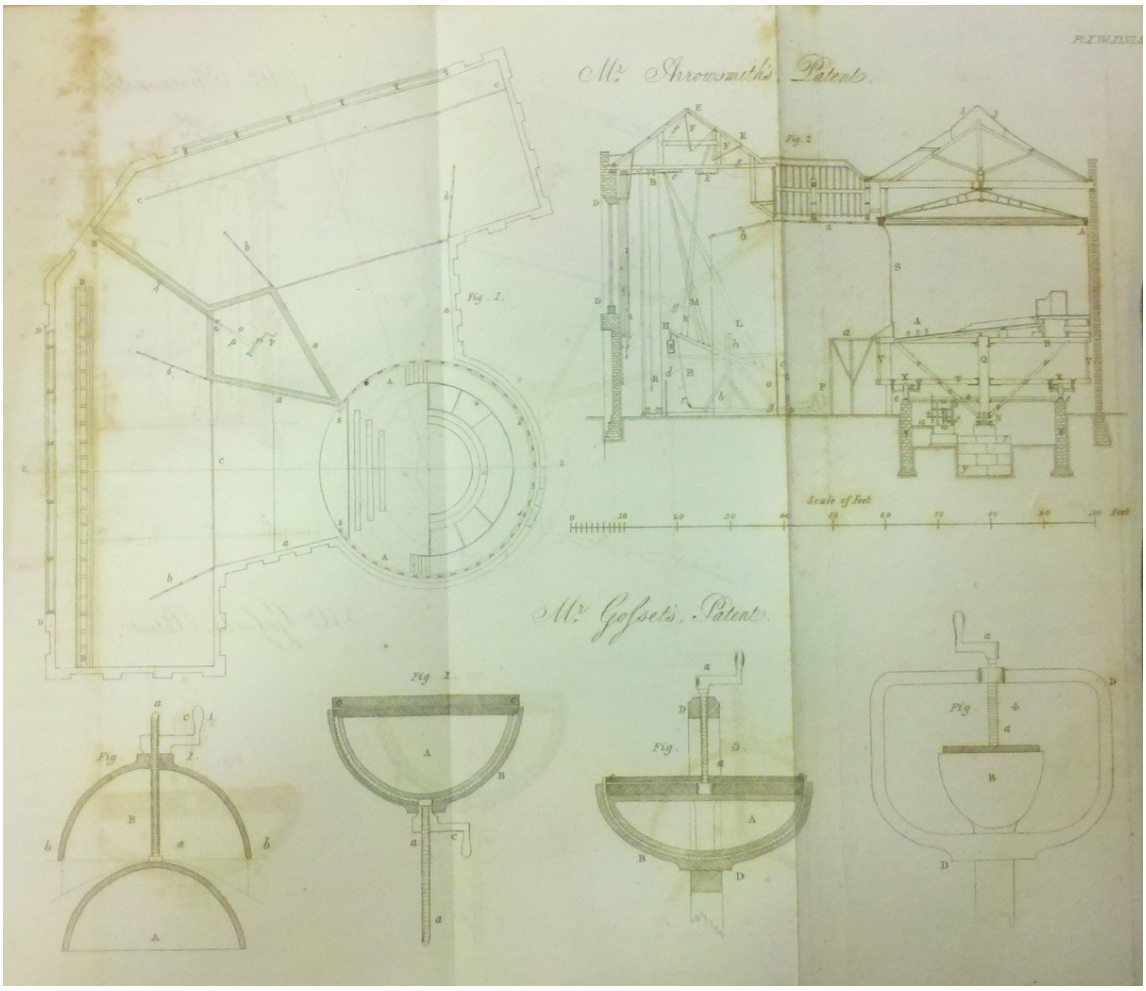

Figure 75: Mr. Arrowsmith's Patent, Plate X. *The Repertory of Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture (London), April 1825, 2nd series, Vol. XLVI (No. CCLXXV).* Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

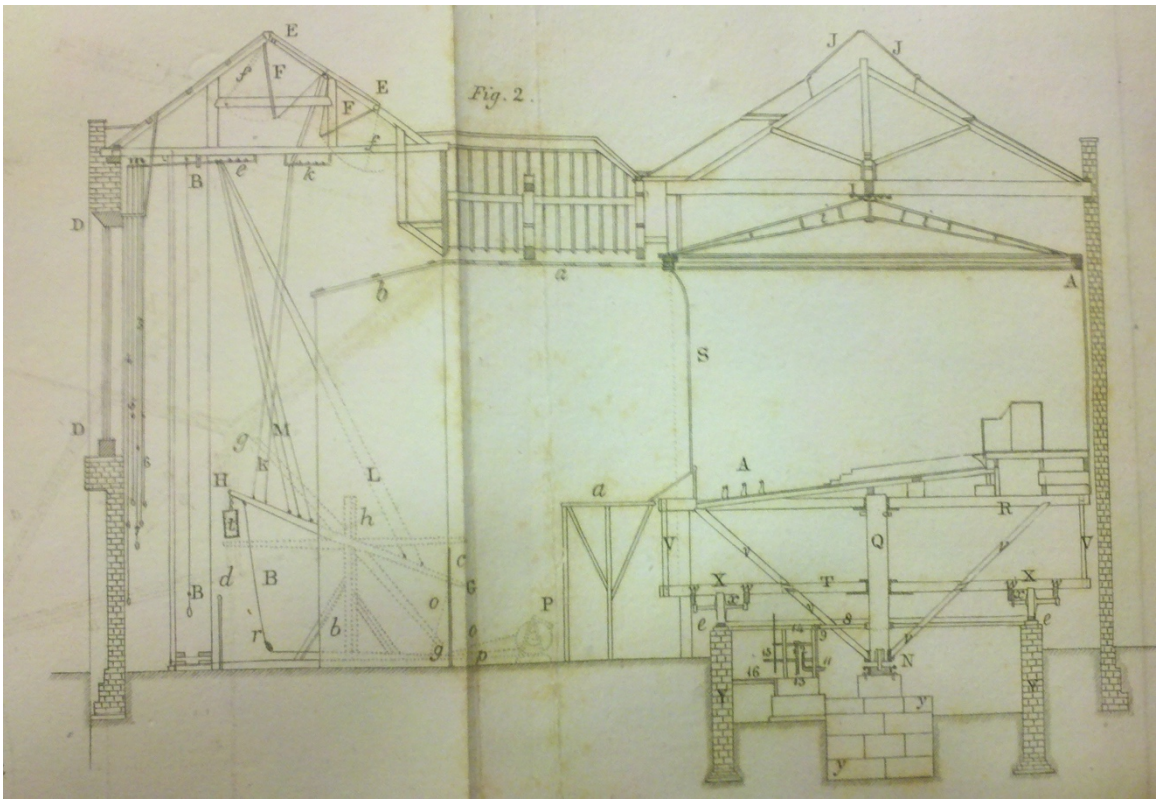

Figure 76: Detail of Mr. Arrowsmith's Patent, Plate X. *The Repertory of Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture (London), April 1825, 2nd series, Vol. XLVI (No. CCLXXV)*. Detail of the floorplan and elevation. Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

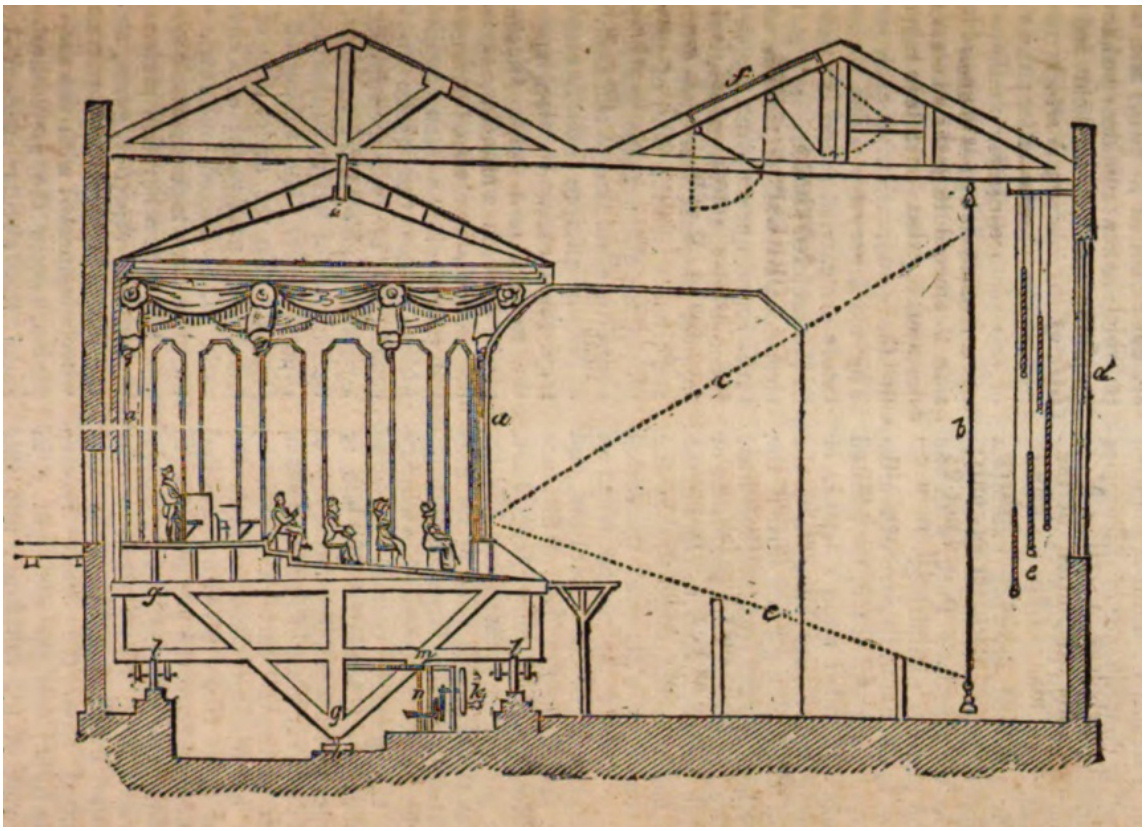

Figure 77: *The Diorama*. plate from *Mechanics Magazine,* 6, no. 159 (Saturday, September 9, 1826). Courtesy of HathiTrust.

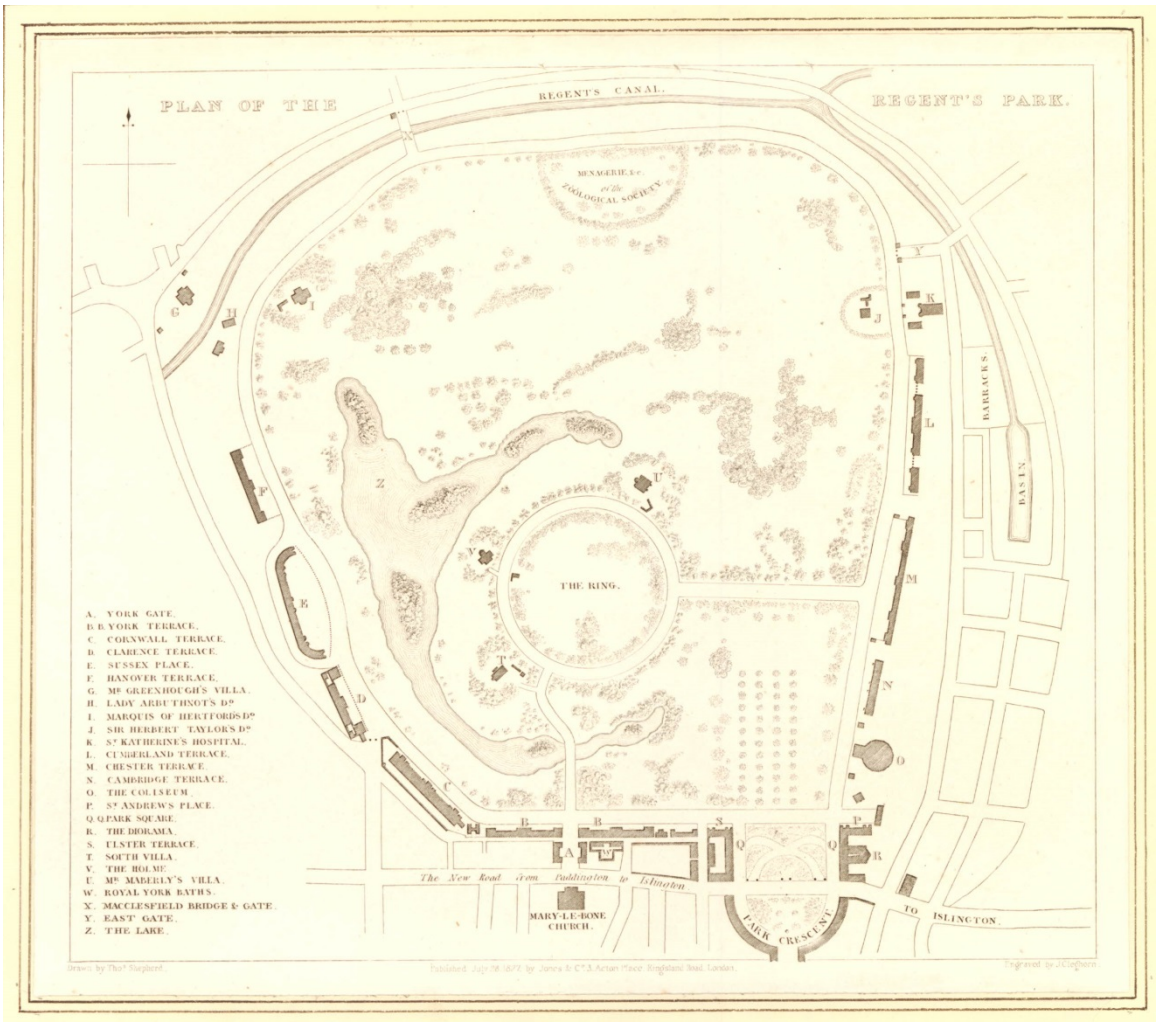

Figure 78: Plan of the Regent's Park, *Metropolitan Improvements: London in the Nineteenth Century*. Print by John Cleghorn, after Thomas Hosmer Shepherd. London: L Jones & Co., 1827. British Museum 1880,1113.4693 © Trustees of the British Museum.

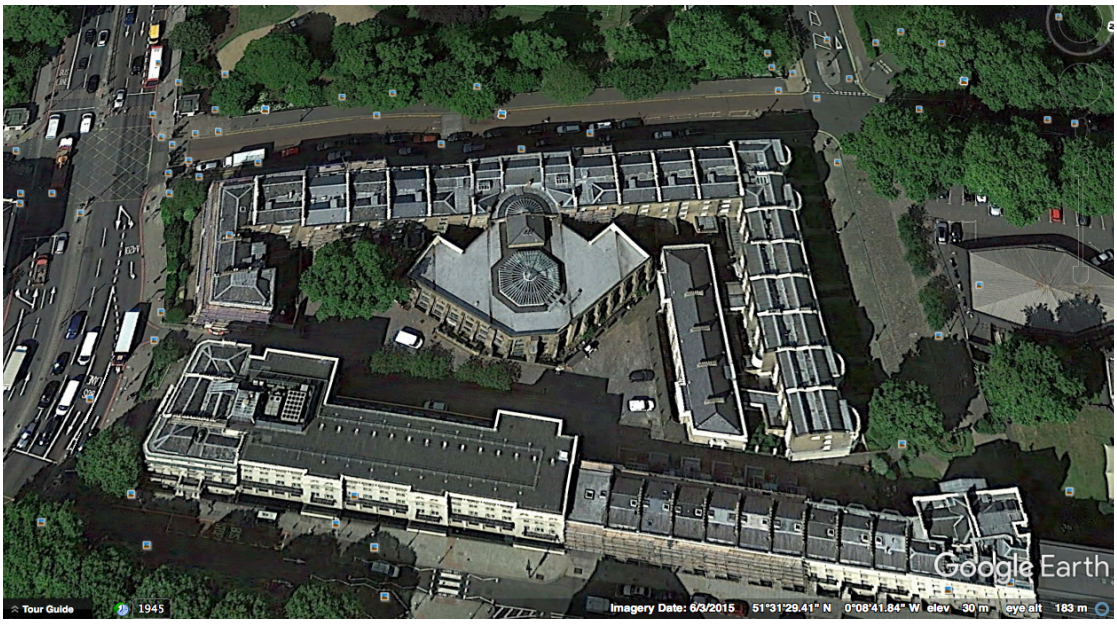

Figure 79: View of the Diorama, June 3rd, 2015. Image Source Google Earth.

Figure 80: S.H. Hughes, after Richard Morris, *Panoramic View Round the Regent's Park*, London, 1831, hand colored aquatint, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Figure 81: S.H. Hughes, after Richard Morris, *Panoramic View Round the Regent's Park*, London, 1831, hand colored aquatint, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Figure 82: S.H. Hughes, after Richard Morris, *Panoramic View Round the Regent's Park*, London, 1831, hand colored aquatint, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

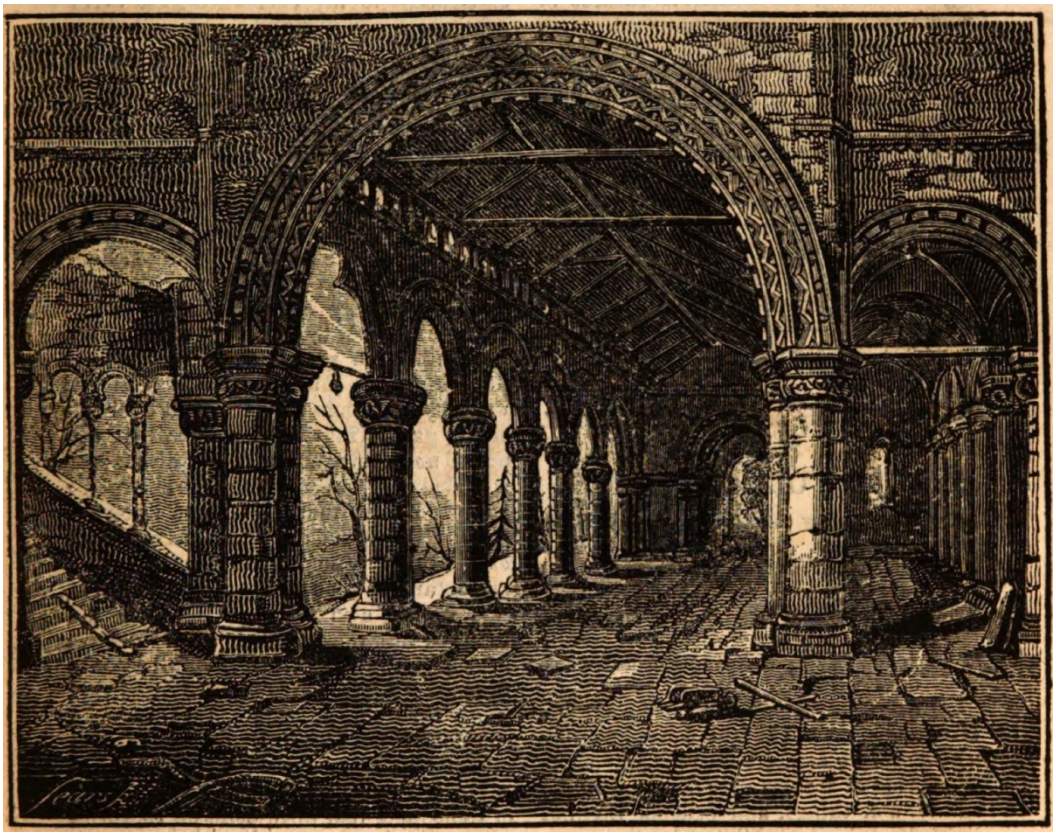

Figure 83: *The Diorama – Ruins in a Fog,* 1827. Engraving printed in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*, (June 30th, 1827): 425. Courtesy of HathiTrust.

Figure 84: Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, *The Effect of Fog and Snow Seen through a Ruined Gothic Colonnade*, 1826. Oil on Canvas. Collection Galerie Gerard Levy.

Figure 85: *Diorama – The Ruins of Holyrood Chapel*, 1825. Engraving printed in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*, (March 26, 1825): 193. Courtesy of HathiTrust.

Figure 86: Louis-Jacques Mandé Daguerre, *The Ruins of Holyrood Chapel*, n.d. Courtesy National Museums Liverpool.

Figure 87: Louis Daguerre, *Diorama*, 1842, huile sur toile, 5,35 x 6,05 mètres. Eglise de Saint-Gervais et Saint-Protais de Bry-sur-Marne. Photo credit © Mathieu Lombard/ Musée Adrien Mentienne, Ville de Bry-sur-Marne.

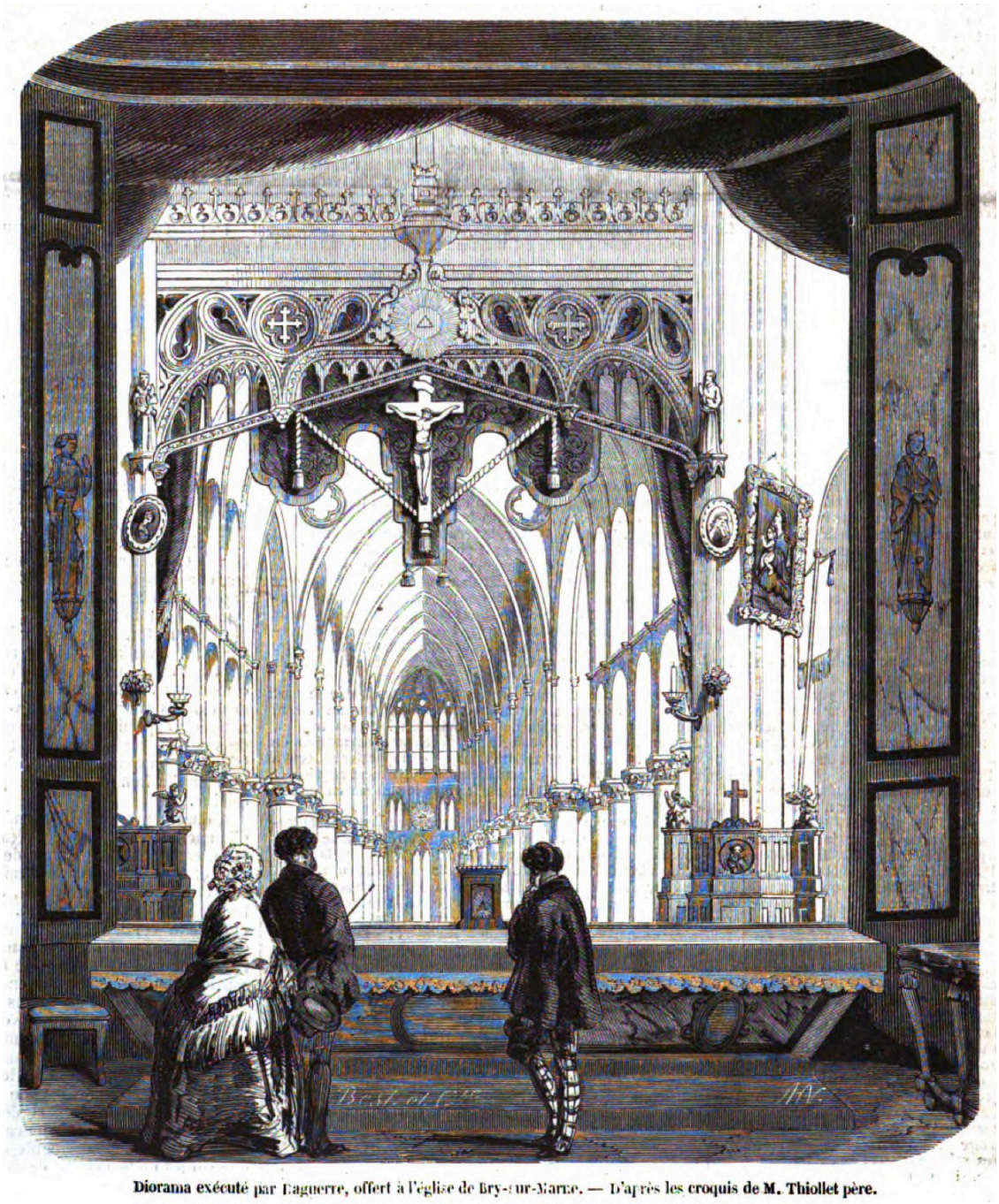

Figure 88: Diorama exécuté par Daguerre, offert à l'église de Bry-sur-Marne. – D'après les croquis de M. Thiollet père. (Diorama created by Daguerre, given to the church of Bry-sur-Marne – After sketches by M. Thiollet, the elder). *L'illustration universel*, vol. 10, (December 11, 1852): 380. Courtesy of HathiTrust.

Figure 89: Louis Daguerre, *Vue du Mont-Blanc*, 1833, huile sur toile, 96 x 140 cm. Collection Musée Adrien Mentienne. Photo credit © Musée Adrien Mentienne, Ville de Bry-sur-Marne.

Figure 90: *Grotto and ruins dans le Parc de Bry du temps de Mlle. De Rigny* 1848 – 1850. Gelatin silver print, printed later. Reproduction of an 1848 drawing by Daguerre © George Eastman Museum.

Figure 91: *En Famille, Près de la Grotte de Daguerre,* 1912, Raymond Lantz Collection. Photo reproduction from the Musée Adrien Mentienne. Catalog # Ah16 in Roblin, Jean, Philippe Drancy, and Marieke Housseau, eds. *Hommage à Daguerre: Magicien de l'image*. Introduction by Pierre Emmanuel. L'Imprimerie Salles et Grange, Office Culturel de Bry-sur-Marne, 1976.

Figure 92: Charles Lantz, *Grotte de Daguerre*, n.d. Raymond Lantz Collection. Photo reproduction from the Musée Adrien Mentienne. Catalog # Ah15 in Roblin, Jean, Philippe Drancy, and Marieke Housseau, eds. *Hommage à Daguerre: Magicien de l'image*. Introduction by Pierre Emmanuel. L'Imprimerie Salles et Grange, Office Culturel de Bry-sur-Marne, 1976.

Figure 93: *La grotte ou Daguerre aimait à se reposer de ses travaux*, carte postale, Collection Musée Adrien Mentienne. Photo credit © Musée Adrien Mentienne, Ville de Bry-sur-Marne.

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